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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

SHEHU DEATH, KOSOVO SITUATION, 'INVASION' DISCUSSED BY SWISS PAPER

Zurich NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG in German 13 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by R. St.: "Hoxha Attacks Yugoslavia Sharply, Calls Shehu an Agent"]

[Text] Vienna 11 Nov--It does not happen every day that the head of a government is accused of being an agent in the employ of three foreign powers. [sic] Last Wednesday, Albanian party chief Enver Hoxha, in an election speech, called his long-time comrade-in-arms, Prime Minister Mehmet Shehu, a traitor, who bashed in his head against the wall of solidarity formed by the party and the people. Official reports indicated that Shehu had voluntarily taken his own life in mid-December 1981. He was not given a state funeral, nor was there any special mention by the Albanian press of his 27-year service as head of the government. This has led to speculation that he might have been murdered by an outsider, or possibly in an exchange of bullets with Hoxha. However, Tirana, while remaining silent about the Shehu case for about 10 months, indicated that the former second-ranking man of the state had no longer enjoyed the confidence of his superior at the time of his death.

"Mercenary of Foreign Nations"

Hoxha explained that Shehu had been criticized several times for serious mistakes but that he had been able to protect himself. As late as the Eighth Party Congress in early November 1981, there was no doubt that the head of the government was in full control since it was he who read the government's report and, in the foreign affairs part of it, was highly critical of Yugoslav politics vis-a-vis the autonomous province of Kosovo. If any differences of opinion existed at that time, the party chief was evidently still too weak to strip his comrade of his power. Hoxha now claims that he is able to prove on the basis of discovered documents and unrefutable evidence that Shehu was in the employ of the CIA as early as pre-World War II. Afterwards, he said, he had been active in Albania as a mercenary of foreign powers and on instructions from abroad. As a fighter in the First Brigade, Hoxha claims, Shehu was hired by the Yugoslav secret service and later on by the Soviet KGB.

His goal, in collaboration with a group of conspirators, had been to bring Albania under foreign rule. He had been ordered by the Yugoslav UDBA [secret service] to murder Hoxha and party and state leaders devoted to him. However, because he was afraid of the people and the party, he did not dare take this last step. Pressured by the UDBA, his last resort had been the disgraceful way of committing suicide.

Titoists in the Background

In his accusations against Yugoslavia, Hoxha was, however, not satisfied with attacking only the secret service. He said he had facts to prove that the September 25th commando action of "bandit" Tschevtet Mustafa had been under the direction of Yugoslav Titoists. In time, the world would learn all the details. As may be remembered, at the end of September, Albania had reported the liquidation of a commando that had invaded Albania from the sea under said Albanian-in-exile. Soon afterwards, the son of ex-King Zog, Leka, admitted his connections with Mustafa. Hoxha calls Leka a dealer in women, arms, and narcotics, who was used by the Yugoslavs for their purposes. Belgrade is accused of training terrorist gangs and of sending them abroad, which, in light of the practice, must be considered a very criminal act of international relations.

Criticism of the Situation in Kosovo

If, on occasion, there is reason to believe that these are exaggerated phantasies, the attacks against the Yugoslav and especially the "Greater-Serbian" politics in Kosovo are absolutely real. The gentlemen from Belgrade--so they claim--transferred 60,000 Serbian soldiers to Kosovo in order to suppress and kill Albanians living there and to intimidate Albania. The party chief threatened that no Albanian would take it for very long that the honor of his sons and daughters was being violated. So far, attempts had been made to talk reasonably with Yugoslavia, but Tirana also knows the language of force .

Hoxha urged Yugoslavia's leadership to set free the young people held in Kosovo jails. He said that, if the cup is made to run over, the reaction might be dangerous. Referring to potential tensions in the Salkan countries, he described the Greater-Serbiants as reliable and secret (friends of the Russians , urged the other Yugoslavs to better control the Serbians, and finally declared that Albania was not a state of three million people but a nation of six million; with these statements, he expressed a feeling of solidarity that transcended borders. Nevertheless, the figure he quoted was too high.

Outlook

This extremely excessive and descriptive language contrasts with realistic assessments of Albania's political future. Here, Hoxha tried not to

present his country as archaic and isolated, talked of industrial growth, in general, and the production of consumer goods, in particular. With friendly nations, especially in Western Europe, trade relations are to be expanded. The United States as well as the Soviet Union were condemned, as usual side-by-side. He announced an amnesty for the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Albania's independence.

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BULGARIA

SUGGESTED MEASURES, APPLIED TECHNIQUES IN CRIME DETECTION

People's Militia Conference

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 27 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Text] For the second year the personnel of the People's Militia, together with the working people in the country, inspired by the historical decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, are living with the constructive rhythm of the party's program of building a developed socialist society. Displaying high revolutionary vigilance and creative efforts and possibilities, they are working for the preservation of the gains of our people and upgrading the effectiveness of the struggle against crime and violations of public order. It was in this light that the conference with the leading personnel of the People's Militia was held on 19 October 1982 in the hall of the DNM [State People's Militia].

The conference was attended by Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs, Col Gen Velko Palin, head of the Military-Administrative Department of the BCP Central Committee, Kostadin Lyutov, prosecutor general of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister and director of the People's Militia, Maj Gen T. M. Shukayev, representative of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, deputy directors of the People's Militia, chiefs of administrations and departments of the State People's Militia, deputy chiefs of okrug MVR militia administrations and of rayon administrations in the capital, as well as other personnel from the People's Militia units in Sofia and throughout the country.

A report was submitted by Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister of internal affairs and director of the People's Militia. Based on the study of the operative circumstances, he provided a profound assessment of the results achieved during the first 9 months of the year, exposed existing weaknesses and shortcomings and the reasons for them, drew proper conclusions and defined the directions along which efforts must be concentrated at the present stage.

The most important thing now is model service to the economy and the prompt detection of economic crimes by improving interaction with the organs of the prosecution and the financial-auditing and control organs. Particular attention should be paid to national projects and to the construction, transportation and trade sectors.

The speaker stressed that decisive measures must be taken to restrict crimes committed by young people and by criminal circles. The organization of control over them must be improved and measures of administrative supervision must be strengthened. Tireless attention must continue to be paid to strengthening the discipline in recording and accounting of reports. In order to neutralize basic crime-triggering factors, such as drunkenness, vagrancy and domestic conflicts, broader use should be made of the possibilities of the units within the unified social prevention system. The work of the operative units on duty must be energized and the organization of initial operative investigation and procedural-investigation actions must be improved.

On the basis of the specific analysis of the practical circumstances in the settlements, measures must be taken ensuring the strict implementation of the deployment order for the autumn and winter period. In settlements without rayon MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] administrations, the problem must be resolved with the participation of the obshtina people's councils and municipalities. The organization of active subunits patrolling specific sectors must be completed. In this respect the measures of the DNM on improving the activities of the DOT [Voluntary Detachments of the Working People] must be carried out.

In connection with improving traffic safety measures must be taken to organize steady control and display intolerance of violations related to the use of alcohol, speeding, improper passing and violation of priorities. Preparations for traffic under autumn and winter conditions must be completed on time.

For all of these reasons responsibility and discipline must become the permanent yardstick of the conscientiousness and behavior of the personnel and the quality of their work.

The important assignments which the party has set the People's Militia personnel call for steadily upgrading the level of administrative activities, improving information and analytical work, ensuring systematic and efficient control and aid in carrying out assignments, and firmly improving coordination among various activities. It is imperative as of now to begin preparations for the formulation of the 1983 plans and to plan specific measures consistent with the operative circumstances, closely coordinated with the plans for the socio-economic development of conurbation systems and territorial units. Problems of comprehensive nature, which involve all territorial administrative and economic organs and public organizations, related to the preservation of public order, the struggle against crime and traffic safety, must be submitted for consideration at the sessions of okrug and obshtina people's councils.

A profound study must be made and positive experience, particularly that of the Soviet Militia, must be applied in an organized fashion.

The organization of Marxist-Leninist and professional training of the personnel during the 1982/1983 school year must be approached with a feeling of responsibility.

Speakers at the conference included Maj Yancho Venev, chief of the crime department of the Sofia City Administration, Col Yanko Vachev, chief of the People's Militia Administration in Burgas, Col Stati Byalkov, chief of the People's Militia Administration in Plovdiv, Col Ivan Dimov, deputy chief of the Shumen Okrug MVR Militia Administration, Col Angel Panchev, chief of the Transportation Militia Department of the DNM, and Col Kostadin Kotsaliev, chief of the Main Investigation Administration.

They were followed by Kostadin Lyutov, prosecutor general of the Bulgarian People's Republic. He spoke of the creative cooperation and joint work between the prosecutor's office and the organs of the MVR. He discussed the new amendments and supplements in the Penal Code and, more specifically, the need for an even more extensive and creative application of Article 39 of the ZNM [Law on the People's Militia] and Articles 272, 329 and 218b of the Penal Code.

Col Gen Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Military-Administrative Department, made an exceptionally valuable statement on the matters under consideration. He rated positively the work of the MVR organs and emphasized that the People's Militia is making its worthy contribution so that the Bulgarian people can work creatively and actively in building a developed socialist society. He discussed the role of the party committees and organizations and the individual party members in resolving the responsible problems facing the People's Militia. He stressed the prime importance of social prevention work and the need to involve the entire public in it. Col Gen Velko Palin particularly emphasized the class-party education of the personnel and their skills and professional growth. He expressed his confidence that in the future as well, under the guidance of the party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the militia personnel will carry out their assignments and ensure the calm and peaceful toil of the Bulgaria people with dedication and a feeling of the highest possible responsibility.

The final speaker was Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs. He emphasized that now we must make a profound study of the amendments to the Penal Code and apply them accurately in the personnel's practical activities. A critical assessment must be made of the work on all levels in the People's Militia. Those who fail to fulfill their assignments must be taken strictly to task and those whose actions or inactions have yielded unsatisfactory results in various militia activities must be held personally liable. In this connection, the minister criticized traffic safety work in some okrugs, the activities of inspectors in children's education halls, and the efficiency of units on duty and more especially the work related to "hot" clues and reports submitted by the voluntary units. Anticipatory measures must be taken in order to change matters in the most favorable way. He also discussed the implementation of Council of Ministers Decree No 52 and indicated some tasks which have still not been carried out in this respect. He discussed the protection of agricultural commodities from thefts.

In conclusion, the minister of internal affairs stressed that even better work must be done for the moral upbringing of the personnel and the comprehensive

application of the political approach which is our strength and our advantage. Finally, the minister indicated the stipulations, evaluations and tasks earmarked at the conference which should be made known to every official, accepted and profoundly realized and applied in the work of the People's Militia.

Efficiency in Struggle Against Crime

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 27 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Maj Ventseslav Genchev]

[Text] The entire personnel of the Sliven Okrug MVR Administration were alarmed. It was as though private passenger cars were being swallowed by the earth--one, two, three, four.... From other cars parts, tires, or cassette players were skillfully and quickly removed.... This situation lasted for quite some time and finally there was a clue: suspicious individuals were trying to sell spare parts for various car models, with carefully scratched out factory numbers. A mysterious specialist had covered the numbers with a metal lining, which made identification impossible. Nevertheless, the criminals were caught, for the experts from the scientific and technical department decided to use X-rays to identify the erased numbers. It simply occurred to them that a plant in Sliven had a special X-ray machine with which concealed defects in metal parts could be detected. They tried and succeeded.

This may sound elementary--they got the idea, tried and discovered. However, only those who work in this area would realize the endless and persistent efforts of the experts and their tremendous wish to discover a crime, and the thousands of pages of scientific publications which were read, reinterpreted and applied.

Currently the experts at the Sliven Okrug MVR Administration scientific and technical department are engaged in fingerprint, handwriting, technical, clue, ballistic, morphological, chemical and physical-chemical expert studies. The speed with which accident areas are surveyed has been improved. Over the past 5 years, in the course of the competition in the People's Militia NIKK two third and one second place have been gained. This is a success which pleases and inspires the young people.

All four experts are senior lieutenants. Zhivko Zhelev is department chief. He has two degrees--in chemistry and economics--and currently is specializing in the department for criminal experts at the Higher Investigation School of the MVR in Volgograd, in the USSR. His deputy was Dimitur Dimitrov, a 30-year-old youngster who has completed the full training course offered by the same school. He introduced me to his colleagues Stanko Stanev, a chemical expert, and Slavcho Koparanov. The young officials have enjoyed the support and guidance of the former department chief Lt Col Gospodin Dinev, currently deputy chief of the rayon MVR Administration. They know and feel their great responsibility in the course of their daily efforts, which help mainly the operative-investigative work in criminal and economic matters and are actively participating in providing the necessary proof of committed crimes. Although their

practical and personal experience is small, it is the ambition of the experts steadily to upgrade their skills and to raise their work to the level of contemporary requirements, in which they are successful. Along with familiar and always valid forms of crime detection, of late they have been using most modern photographic methods involving the application of ultraviolet and infrared rays, work with microscopic traces and, furthermore, studies of their formation. Let us point out once again that the Sliven experts of the DNN-NIKK were among the first in the country to undertake such investigations.

They see possibilities of improving their work in the sufficient, meaningful and qualitatively accurate raw data on crimes. Unquestionably, this directs them toward the proper use of additional scientific and technical facilities. There is still something left to be desired in terms of looking over the site of the crime and the full gathering, storing and studying of the various types of clues and proofs.

Now that we mentioned the preservation of clues, allow me to complete with an interesting and rather indicative example. One New Year's day R. K. developed a yearning for baked pork, belonging to someone else. The attempt to steal the pig failed. However, as he was being released by the rayon administration, he was fingerprinted in any case. A long time afterwards an elderly woman was raped and killed in Nova Zagora. A fingerprint was found on the broken glass pane in her house. For three days all experts worked from dawn until dusk with microscopes and magnifying glasses and categorically established that R.K. was the author of the crime.

Currently the Sliven experts have pledged to earn the title of "Excellent Section."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' DEPUTY CHIEF EDITOR ON IDEOLOGY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Gerloch, deputy chief editor of RUDE PRAVO: "In Unity With Practice"]

[Text] The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regards ideological work as an important component part of its political work. This was again taken note of by the March (1980) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The efforts of communists are directed toward its improvement.

The party regards the education of the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and of a strengthening of socialist patriotism and class consciousness to be one of the most important tasks of ideological work. This is all the more important since the age composition of Czechoslovakian society is changing before our very eyes. Nearly one-half of Czechoslovakia's citizens did not go through the crucible of class battles in the bourgeois republic, and did not participate in the anti-fascist and national liberation struggle. Often young people take socialism and its gains as something given. This can sometimes develop into a frivolous attitude toward the values which have been created. But it is precisely the young whose task it is to accept the baton from their elders and to safeguard and develop what has been gained. We must not lose sight of the fact that the ideological diversions of the anti-communists are directed especially toward the youth. For this reason, one of the paramount tasks of ideological workers is to help young people to distinguish genuine values from false ones, and to attract young citizens into conscious and active work for the good of society.

The work of education in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist teachings demands from propagandists the creative mastery of the enormous historical experience which has been built up by Soviet communists and by the entire Soviet people. The approaching 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR is providing a new impulse for an even deeper consciousness of the historic role of the Soviet Union and of its peace-loving policy. At the same time, ideological workers have to unmask the dangerous plans of international imperialism led by the United States which has adopted a course aimed at intensifying the arms race and inciting new centers of tension.

Today the economy of the Czechoslovakian SSR stands before the objective necessity of moving on to the path of intensive development. In this connection, economic propaganda has a special place. The amount and quality of work put in socialist construction has to be the chief criterion for evaluating the work of everyone. Ideological work has to do everything to increase respect for selfless creative work for the good of society.

In the Accounting Report of the Central Committee which was delivered at the 16th Congress by Comrade G. Husak it was stated: "All the successes which our people has achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party are undoubtedly connected with the ideological and political educational work of the party. . . . We can say without exaggeration that most Czechoslovak citizens organically connect their lives with socialism. They are proving their attitude toward the socialist system and the party's policies and their patriotism by selfless and honest labor and civic activeness."

This, however, does not mean that everything is gotten without problems. One of the chief tasks upon whose accomplishment our party is working in the field of ideology is the latter's close connection with social practice. It is necessary for those who are engaged in the social sciences--scientists, lecturers, propagandists, journalists, and all ideological workers--to be even more thorough and deep in studying and explaining the problems which are being solved by society and to understand both plans and goals as well as the corrections which are made by life.

Leading workers in the economy and in other fields of social practice also have to regard ideological and political educational influence on the masses as an inseparable component part of their work. Ideological educational work has the task of providing practical assistance to the struggle against bureaucratic and technocratic hinderances at whose basis is a faith in the unlimited might of prescriptions and administrative measures. It is the mission of the workers of the ideological front to support those who work honestly and well and who have a creative attitude toward their work.

One of the most important tasks of ideological work is the struggle to strengthen labor discipline in all elements, from top to bottom. It is well known that Vladimir Il'ich Lenin often emphasized that the success of socialism is inconceivable without the victory of conscious proletarian discipline over spontaneous petty bourgeois anarchy.

The socialist system has eliminated the petty bourgeoisie as a social strata. But even today in Czechoslovakian society there is still evidence of survivals of bourgeois views in the habits, thinking, and behavior of individual people. There are still those among us who see the meaning of life in accumulation, in an endeavour to take as much as possible from society and give it as little as possible. The imperialists are deliberately trying with their hostile ideological activity to enliven these manifestations which are alien to socialism. It is for this reason that the documents of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia speak about the necessity for waging a principled struggle against philistinism and against survivals of it in the consciousness of people.

The ideological education of communists occupies a paramount place in ideological work. The party agencies and organizations of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party provide for the increased theoretical training of their members above all through the system of party education which covers plants and agricultural cooperatives, and through the houses and studios of political education at residences.

The development of party education in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party is being fostered by a study of the documents of its 16th Congress and of the 26th CPSU Congress. The students in the system of party education make concrete comments and proposals concerning, in particular, economic tasks. We are best able to combine studies with practice in the "Marxist-Leninist Principles of Party Work" seminars which are attended by party workers who have theoretical knowledge and experience in political work.

The rayon committees are devoting unremitting attention to the Marxist-Leninist training of candidate members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of young communists. We have a principle in keeping with which every candidate has to go through a week-long introductory political course before he joins in one or another type of studies.

The untiring development of mass political work is of great importance for influencing people and for enlisting them in the active realization of the policies of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The open meetings of the primary party organizations are among its tested forms. At these meetings communists inform non-party people about the tasks which follow for the plant, cooperative, or institution from the decisions of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its Central Committee and other agencies, and about the measures which the party organization is taking to accomplish important tasks in one or another sector.

Other forms of mass political work have also justified themselves: for example, discussions between party workers and the workers of economic agencies and the public, and the holding of political information sessions.

Political agitation is a duty of a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Every party organization strives to see to it that its communists are always and everywhere an example, and that they actively influence their non-party workmates and explain the party's policies to them. They are supposed to form an active life position among our citizens. And this is one of the basic criteria of the effectiveness of ideological work.

2959

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POLITBURO REPORT TO FIFTH SED CC PLENUM PUBLISHED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Nov 82 pp 3-6

["Excerpts" from SED Politburo report delivered by Hermann Axen, member, SED Politburo and Central Committee secretary, to the Fifth Plenum of the SED Central Committee held 25-26 November 1982 in East Berlin]

[Text] Comrades:

Events since the fourth Central Committee plenum have fully confirmed that the resolutions of our 10th party congress and of our Central Committee's subsequent plenums are correct and effective. Their deliberate and creative implementation by the masses of the people enables our country to move ahead assuredly in solving the greater tasks in our developed socialist society at a time of increased international tension.

I

On the Party's International Activity

International developments in the reporting period confirm the assessments of the third and fourth Central Committee plenums. The dangerous exacerbation of the international situation persists. Comrades Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and Erich Honecker, at their Crimean meeting in August this year, stated "that the world situation continues to be agitated and disturbing." They clearly identified the causes for this perilous trend: "The U.S. administration has proclaimed a crusade against the socialist community, as it were. That includes ideological diversion and psychological warfare, trade sanctions and a further boost to the arms race, the destruction of contractual relations and the refusal of constructive dialogue. Counting on their strength, U.S. leaders expect to dominate the international arena and dictate their will to the nations."

Facts since our last Central Committee plenum reinforce these statements:

--In the military field, the arms buildup aimed at gaining military-strategic U.S. superiority is being pushed by accepting a record military budget for the next 6 years of \$ 1.9 trillion. The U.S. Senate ratified in this period the expenditures for the development and production of new dangerous weapons systems.

--Logistic preparation for deploying U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe in 1983 is in high gear. The formation and assignment of U.S. rapid deployment divisions and the development of their military bases are being speeded up.

--The region in which NATO holds sway is to be expanded at a global scale by the design of ruling U.S. circles.

--The kindling and expansion of hotbeds of conflict, defined as extremely dangerous by Comrade Erich Honecker at the fourth Central Committee plenum, is carried on by the United States and its NATO allies in the Near East, Southeast Asia, South Africa, Central America and the Carribbeans.

--Relying on its dominant position in the capitalist finance market, the Reagan administration continues its measures in trade sabotage and restrictions toward the socialist countries. This is so although the U.S. government has suffered a setback in sabotaging the oil pipeline business of West European firms with the USSR and has difficulties in imposing on the other six leading imperialist states a joint economic warfare strategy against socialism.

--At the same time the ongoing disarmament negotiations in Geneva and Vienna are being dragged out by the United States and the other NATO partners to gain time and justify the arms buildup. Undersecretary Richard Burt of the U.S. State Department admitted it frankly on 1 November by saying: "If we had not started negotiating with the Russians, it would have been impossible to induce the allies to deploy missiles on their territory. The anti-nuclear movement keeps growing in Western Europe; it could jeopardize the December 1979 NATO resolution on deploying medium-range missiles. So we had to give the allies the impression we are seriously seeking advances in nuclear arms limitation."

--After U.S. President Reagan in his speech before the British House of Commons proclaimed an extensive crusade against socialism, the new U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, at a State Department conference in mid-October, proclaimed a broadly designed program in psychological warfare, diversion, and ideological subversion of the states of socialism and national liberation. This is meant to deflect from the extraordinary intensification of the capitalist crisis and the decline of the capitalist system that goes with it and pave the ground for further blows in the confrontation course.

Solidly Alongside the USSR, Resolutely for Detente and Disarmament

That imperialist calculation will not make it. In his last speech at the reception on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev unmistakably declared:

"We shall do everything necessary so that the adherents of military adventure can never surprise the Soviet land and a potential aggressor knows an annihilating counter-strike inevitably awaits him. Our power and vigilance, I think, will cool off the all too eager hotheads among the imperialist politicians.

"The Soviet Union will continue to struggle tenaciously for detente and disarmament in the future. We shall concentrate our efforts on avoiding the danger of nuclear war. That is what the foreign policy initiatives of the USSR and the fraternal countries of the socialist community are mainly aimed at."

The GDR is determined to continue unerringly the way of thwarting the confrontation course and securing the peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states with different social orders together with the USSR and the other fraternal countries and with all forces seeking reconciliation.

The most important prerequisite for it remains the all-round strengthening of socialism. Also in the reporting period our party and state gave the major attention in their foreign policy to the consolidation of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.

The international importance of the GDR-USSR fraternal alliance was described in the communique on the friendly Crimean meeting on 11 August between Comrades Erich Honecker and Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev as follows: "The firm friendship between the Soviet Union and the GDR is a reliable guarantee for further successes in solving the tasks of socialist and communist construction. It is an influential factor of political stability on the European continent."

That meeting lent new impulses to our relations. Agreement was reached, above and beyond our successful cooperation in such dynamic branches as microelectronics, robot construction and chemistry, to speed up science and technological development, together with other interested fraternal countries, and introduce modern technologies in industrial and agricultural production.

In September the Politburo passed concrete resolutions on implementing the arrangements made at the Crimean meeting with respect to the economic, scientific-technical and foreign policy cooperation between both states and parties.

After the passing of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the CPSU Central Committee on 12 November unanimously chose Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov as CPSU Central Committee secretary general.

In the summons of the CPSU Central Committee as well as in the speeches by Comrade Yuri Andropov the consistent and resolute continuation of the Leninist course of the CPSU was proclaimed as worked out under the leading influence of Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev from the 23rd to the 26th CPSU Congress.

The secretary general of our Central Committee in his telegram pointed out that Comrade Yuri Andropov enjoyed high respect in the GDR as a proven internationalist and true friend of the first socialist state on German soil. Erich Honecker expressed the conviction that the many bonds of irrevocable friendship and comradeship between the SED and the CPSU, and between the GDR and the USSR, were a reliable guarantee in our joint efforts for the further growth of the strength and influence of socialism, for ensuring peace and for the happiness of the nations.

Wholly in that sense our party and people are getting set for the important anniversary, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

Further Deepening the Cooperation With Fraternal Countries

During the friendly meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Gustav Husak, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, it was reiterated that the alliance between the two socialist neighbors proved a stable factor of peace on the dividing line between socialism and imperialism in Europe. Tribute was paid to the good advances in their already traditional cooperation in the fields of olefin-chemistry, microelectronics, robot technology, machine tool and farm machinery construction, the energy industry and materials management. It was agreed to start shortly with consultations on coordinating the 1986-1990 national economic plans.

An important contribution to developing our friendship and cooperation with Yugoslavia was the official friendship visit in the GDR from 22 to 24 November 1982 of Comrade Petar Stambolic, chairman of the presidium of Yugoslavia. That visit gave rise to assessing the fine development of our relations with Yugoslavia in all fields and set down tasks which our two countries intend to resolve in the time ahead through cooperation, particularly in the economic field.

During the negotiations between Comrades Erich Honecker and Petar Stambolic there was an extensive exchange of views on the current international situation, the causes for its exacerbation, and the implications of it. There was unanimity that it was a task of principal importance for the socialist countries, the nonaligned states and all progressive forces in the world to do everything to avert the risk of a third world war.

The joint communique signed by Comrades Erich Honecker and Petar Stambolic expresses the congruent positions of our countries on the important international issues today and reasserts the firm determination of both sides to extend their cooperation and reinforce the friendship between our peoples and states.

The further deepening of GDR cooperation with the fraternal countries also was served by the negotiations between Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and the prime ministers of Bulgaria and Romania.

By signing the GDR-Laos friendship and cooperation treaty while Kayson Phomvihan, secretary general of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Lao Council of Ministers, was on a visit to the GDR, lifted the relations of fraternal friendship, solidarity and mutual aid onto a higher level. As an outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia, Laos, together with Vietnam and Kampuchea, is engaged in a policy aimed at creating a region of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

We reaffirm our unshakable solidarity with these fraternal countries and fully support their constructive proposals and resolutely oppose all attempts by imperialism and reaction to intervene in the internal affairs in that region.

The focal point of the Warsaw Pact states' foreign ministers committee session in Moscow on 21 and 22 October 1982 was a still closer cooperation among the states of the socialist community for ensuring peace and frustrating the imperialist confrontation policy. It dealt with the matters of continuing the detente process and developing international cooperation, in particular with regard to resuming the Madrid conference.

We Are Interested in Good Relations With China

At the 10th party congress we expressed our interest in good relations with the PRC. For the struggle for peace and against the imperialist confrontation course it is good to normalize relations with the PRC.

The PRC has underscored the need to safeguard peace and the desire to normalize Chinese-Soviet relations. A first round of talks between delegations from both countries was held at Peking. The tribute to the personality and distinctions of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the attendance of a representative PRC delegation at the obsequies in Moscow, and the stress placed at it on the traditional friendship between the Soviet and the Chinese people have roused attention among us and all over the world. Our party is profoundly interested in a positive outcome of the Soviet-Chinese talks. The GDR is taking constructive steps toward normalizing its relations with the PRC in accordance with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and nonintervention.

Wide Resonance to Erich Honecker's Trip to the Near East

The recent visit by Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to Syria, Cyprus and Kuwait was an important contribution in the struggle by the peace forces for damming in the dangerous sources of conflict at present. That visit gained great international importance on account of the sudden exacerbation of the situation in the Near East.

The U.S. confrontation course stood revealed in all its brutality by its abetting Israel's barbarous aggression against the PLO and the progressive Lebanese forces. Israel's aggression against Lebanon suited the long-term plans of U.S. imperialism to regain sway over Arab oil and transform the Near East into a strategic staging area against the Soviet Union and the national liberation forces.

Due to the heroic resistance by the PLO and the Lebanese patriots, and to the solidarity of the USSR, the GDR and other socialist states, and the protest from the world audience, the Zionist aggressor and his strategic ally abroad could, however, not reach their farflung goals. The aggressor Israel stands politically and morally isolated in the world today.

The most recent events in the Near East have made still more apparent that a just and comprehensive solution of the Near East conflict is possible only by respecting the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Soviet Union's proposals, actively supported by the GDR, take account of that. The GDR welcomes the outcome of the conference of the state and government chiefs of Arab countries in Fes as an expression of the effort to proceed in unanimity in the struggle for solving the Near East conflict.

Our party and people have always given solidary support to the just struggle by the PLO. That solidarity stands up well, especially now after the most recent Israeli aggression.

In the frank and confident talks Comrade Erich Honecker held with the leading representatives of those states identical views emerged on the basic issues of world politics, averting the danger of nuclear war and safeguarding the peace in the world.

In those meetings, Comrade Erich Honecker explained the positions of the GDR and of the entire socialist community on the international situation and especially on two of the toughest world problems: the situation on the Near and Middle East after Israel's aggression and the peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem in conformity with UN resolutions. The positions taken by the partners in the talks and the published joint declarations and communique show that GDR foreign policy, seeking peace and the implementation of the peoples' right to self-determination, has met with recognition and agreement.

When Comrade Erich Honecker was in Kuwait, he engaged in a friendly exchange of views with Yasir Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. There Erich Honecker reiterated the GDR's firm solidarity alongside the Palestinian people and its legitimate representative, the PLO.

In the course of the Near Eastern trip, some important bilateral accords and agreements were signed that serve the development and consolidation of mutually advantageous relations with the states visited.

The Near Eastern trip by the secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council not only found broad resonance in the world public, it was also recognized as another proof for the consolidation of relations between the socialist and nonaligned countries, and between the GDR and the Arab states.

The GDR Supports What Serves the Recovery in the International Climate

At a time of intensifying confrontation between imperialism and socialism, extraordinary importance attaches to a steady exchange of views among leading politicians and to the development of trade and relations in the fields of science, technology and culture between states with differing social systems.

Since the last Central Committee plenum, the GDR has concluded some additional cooperation treaties and agreements with nonsocialist states in the political, consular and economic fields.

Comrade Guenter Mittag's recent visit to Japan served the further extension of bilateral cooperation at the higher stage in our relations accomplished by Comrade Erich Honecker's official visit last year. The negotiations between the delegation headed by Comrade Mittag and leading Japanese political and economic representatives underscored the common fundamental interests of both countries in the preservation of peace and the development of mutually advantageous economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation.

The further development of good bilateral and advantageous relations between the GDR and capitalist states was served by the GDR foreign minister's negotiations with the foreign ministers of Greece and Austria and by his talks at the 37th UN General Assembly with many of his colleagues. The GDR foreign minister's

speech of principle and the activity of our delegation at the 37th UN General Assembly constitute an active contribution by our workers and farmers state to the coordinated foreign policy of our socialist community.

The GDR furthermore actively supports the most recent Soviet proposals and initiatives for contributing, through far-reaching accords, to a perceptible recovery in the international climate. Our party and our state resolutely advocate that all other nuclear states without delay join in the USSR's solemn commitment to not making a first use of nuclear weapons.

We also support the Soviet proposal connected with it for speeding up the preparation and concluding of a general and complete nuclear weapons test ban treaty. That would effectively close the channels for developing and perfecting new types and systems of nuclear arms. As the first step the Soviet Union has proposed a moratorium on any nuclear explosions. We also attach great importance to the proposal from the Soviet Union that NATO and the Warsaw Pact issue a declaration on not expanding their action radius into Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Recently the Madrid meeting of the CSCE member states resumed its work. The GDR delegation has the clear directive to do everything possible, in close cooperation with the delegations of the other fraternal states, to conclude the meeting as soon as possible through a substantial and well balanced final document. A good basis for it is the draft submitted by the neutral and non-aligned states in Europe. In Madrid we keep seeking a resolution on summoning a conference on confidence and security inspiring measures and disarmament in Europe.

For Normal GDR-FRG Relations

The government change in Bonn is an internal FRG affair. To us, as the FRG's socialist neighbor, it is of course of extraordinary importance whether the new Bonn government meets its obligation for peace in Europe here on the border between the two military pacts and the two social systems or new incalculabilities and tension arise.

Anyone who looks at the situation in Europe realistically and cares about the destiny of the peoples on our continent can see that everything has to be done to make peace secure. Tension must be alleviated and not rekindled, the arms race must be stopped and not heated up, the results achieved in the detente policy must be preserved and not jeopardized, and we must proceed step by step toward cooperation on equal terms. The safeguarding of peace is of overriding importance, especially also for the development of relations between the two German states.

The new FRG government has thus far made a point of talking about foreign policy continuity, especially also in its Ostpolitik. To that we have given a constructive response. During the reception for the military academy graduates on 8 October 1982, Comrade Erich Honecker commented that if the FRG government said that all its partners in the Warsaw Pact could rest assured there would be no change in the detente policy and the Ostpolitik, it would have positive effects on the development of GDR-FRG relations.

In our policy toward the FRG we let ourselves undeterredly be guided by the principles for a peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders. We obey the historic obligation to make sure that never again war arises from German soil. That also is the most important task for the good of the people in both German states. We have attempted and are attempting to reconcile GDR-FRG relations to the spirit and letter of treaties concluded so they will help improve the tense international situation. That was attested to by the meeting of Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and FRG President Karl Carstens in Moscow on 14 November.

Everyone may rest assured we have carefully examined and evaluated what FRG Chancellor Kohl said about FRG-GDR relations, and we take a realistic view of it. That holds true for his remark that his government fully accepted the treaties concluded and all obligations assumed. But it holds true also for those words that might place the credibility of treaty loyalty in doubt.

If the remark that they wanted talks and not polemics is to be taken seriously, it is yet contradicted by the all-German pronouncements from prominent representatives of the coalition parties against the GDR.

In his ADN interview on 14 October 182, Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, pointed out that the German Empire perished in the fire of Hitler's war, particularly under the blows from the Red Army. The results of the war and postwar development, he said, are unlike the dangerous dreams in Bonn. Now there are two sovereign German states on German soil, independent of each other--the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG. It accords with the interest in peace and the interests of mankind for both German states, not only for the GDR, to proceed from that reality.

The Basic Treaty unequivocally stipulates that the two German states respect their sovereignty and equality, and the independence of each of the two states in their internal and external affairs. They assert the inviolability of the border between them for now and the future and commit themselves to an unlimited respect for their territorial integrity. How should it then actually not be acceptable for the FRG to respect GDR citizenship? Why should it then be inconceivable to settle for once and for all the course of the Elbe river in the border area? If it was possible for thousand kilometers of the land border, why not also for 90 kilometers of the riparian border? Those are by no means unjustified maximal GDR demands, as is claimed in Bonn, but settlements in the sense of international law of eminently practical importance.

The GDR Peace Council Is Very Busy

The peace movement in our country engages in its activity under the favorable premise of total agreement with our state policy aimed at peace and the prosperity of its citizens. Under the proven leadership by the GDR Peace Council, it has, thanks to its energetic efforts, gained much respect in our country and outside.

A plenary session of the GDR Peace Council, held on 16 July 1982 at the People's Chamber building in Berlin, turned into a persuasive demonstration of the unity, might and strength of the peace movement in the GDR. In an atmosphere marked by great responsibility and confidence, representatives of all classes and strata, of all parties and mass organizations, men, women and youths with different ideological and religious convictions reaffirmed that there can be nothing more important for the GDR people than the safeguarding of peace. Noted representatives of the churches and religious communities stressed how convincing the religious peace commitment found expression in the unified GDR peace movement.

That meeting, marked by confident cooperation, also resolutely turned down all attempts undertaken by certain forces to split the peace movement. The declaration of intent passed in that plenary session has found wide agreement among all circles of the population. Everywhere in our country the appeal from the fourth Central Committee plenum is brought to life to do a good deed for peace each day on the job, strengthen our socialist state all-around and thereby actively aid the GDR's peace policy.

On 1 September, for the World Peace Day, Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received a Peace Council delegation. At that meeting he made the point that it was not enough to worry about peace but that all responsible people were called upon to try still harder to spare mankind war and annihilation.

The Ninth Regular Congress of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters was held from 8 to 10 September in the GDR capital. The attendance of 298 delegates from 23 countries and West Berlin and of representatives of 19 international organizations made that congress the most representative thus far. All participants were deeply moved by the great political importance our party and citizens attributed to that world conference of the antifascist resistance fighters.

The festive opening event, the guiding statements from Comrade Honecker on the international situation and the important role of the congress, and the awarding of the medal, "Great Star of Peoples' Friendship," deeply impressed all participants. The congress was pervaded with the deepest care for peace. It is highly significant that the congress, politically and ideologically diversified as it is, unanimously adopted the main congress documents, the activity report, the guideline program, and the resolution on peace and disarmament.

Solid Cooperation With Communist and Workers Parties

Since its fourth Central Committee plenum our party has developed much activity in its relations to promote the unity of action in the international communist and workers movement and the three main revolutionary currents of our age.

The same purpose was served by the conferences in which Comrade Erich Honecker engaged during his visit to Syria with Comrade Khaled Bagdache, secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party, to Cyprus, with Comrade Ezekias Papaioannou, secretary general of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus,

with the PCP delegation headed by secretary general Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, with the Finnish Communist Party delegation headed by party chairman Comrade Jouko Kajanoja, and with the general secretary of the Turkish Communist Party, Comrade Bilen.

In the end of October, a party executive delegation of West Berlin's SED, headed by its chairman Horst Schmitt, paid a friendship visit to the GDR. The SEW comrades were received by Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, for an exchange of views conducted in fraternal solidarity, during which the traditional close fighting community of the two parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism was reaffirmed. Comrade Erich Honecker paid tribute to the SEW struggle for peace, work and the democratic rights of West Berlin's working population.

In meetings with the SED Central Committee general secretary and with working people in Halle Bezirk, Comrade Horst Schmitt reported on the various activities of the growing peace movement, the operations against job cutbacks and social welfare reductions, and the experiences in the representation of the West Berlin working people's democratic and social interests. His vivid account of the drastic consequences of heaping the crisis burdens upon the working people and of the ominous effects of mass unemployment, especially on youth, and of the radical social welfare reductions in West Berlin, once again illustrated how much of an historic achievement full employment and social security, as guaranteed and realized by socialism in the GDR, are.

The SEW chairman called the growing economic capacity of the GDR and its staunchly carrying on the main task policy, the stable development of socialism in the GDR altogether, a great encouragement for West Berlin's communists.

Erich Honecker and Horst Schmitt unanimously declared that preventing U.S. missile deployment in Western Europe and, with it, steps toward ensured peace, detente and cooperation profoundly conformed with the interests of the inhabitants of West Berlin too. Strictly abiding by and fully applying the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, especially its key provision to the effect that West Berlin is not a part of the FRG and may not be governed by it, is prerequisite to ensuring a life in quiet and peace for the West Berlin population. They also opposed any design in testing the burdens that might be imposed on the Quadripartite Agreement.

1983--Karl Marx Year in the GDR

In 1983, there will be the 165th birthday and 100th death anniversary of Karl Marx. The whole world on this occasion will pay tribute to the person and work of that ingenious founder of scientific socialism, who above all gave inspiration and organization to the German and international workers movement and was an indefatigable fighter for freeing mankind from exploitation, suppression and war.

The party and broad social forces in our republic are getting set for celebrating the Karl Marx anniversaries in 1983 with dignity. The Politburo

proposes to the Central Committee to declare and make 1983 a Karl Marx Year in the GDR. The present "SED Central Committee Theses on the Karl Marx Year 1983" also serve our getting set for the Karl Marx Year.

The scientific world-outlook and doctrine established by Marx, Engels and Lenin more than ever proves the only correct compass in the struggle for socialism, peace, freedom and social security. We shall make use of the preparations for the anniversaries of the greatest son of the German people in conveying deeper insights into the inevitabilities of social development to all citizens in our country and in persuasively dealing with the basic issues in our era of mankind's worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. The Karl Marx Year--the Central Committee is convinced--will be an enormous spur for new exemplary deeds on behalf of all-round strengthening our socialist workers and farmers state.

The Central Committee of our party for this occasion has invited communist and workers parties, other revolutionary parties and national liberation movements, and socialist and social democratic parties to attend an international science conference in Berlin in April 1983. Its theme will be: Karl Marx and Our Age--The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress.

We think a frank and constructive exchange of ideas, opinions and experiences about this topic can help promote and strengthen our common interests in preventing a nuclear inferno and the solution of other worldwide problems humanity is facing today.

II

Staunchly Continuing the Proven Policy for Continued Economic Performance Improvements for the Good of the People and for Peace

The Central Committee Politburo and secretariat have taken all necessary measures in the reporting period in carrying on successfully, and in line with the economic strategy issued by the 10th SED Congress, the performance improvements of the GDR economy for the good of the people and the safeguarding of peace. The basic guidelines for it have been and are the orientations provided by Comrade Erich Honecker at the third and fourth Central Committee plenums and at the conference with the kreis first secretaries in February this year.

The GDR Economy Achieved a Growth of Which We Can Be Proud

The Politburo affirms: Firmly linked with our party, the rural and urban working people have up to the end of October, in an atmosphere of strenuous and creative work and rich initiatives, produced outstanding achievements in socialist competition to fulfill and exceed the 1982 national economic plan. Especially in view of the higher and more complicated tasks in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, the proven course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy turns out to be the crucial motivating force for the activities of the workers class, the co-operative farmers, the intellectuals and the other working people. That is shown by the results in plan fulfilment.

By 31 October, the growth rate in industrial production in the area of the industrial ministries had risen by 4.2 percent above the rate of the same period last year and labor productivity, by 3.5 percent.

By the end of October, the industrial commodity production plan was met by 100.7 percent. It provided products at a value of M 2.4 billion above plan for public supplies and export. This plan lead was accomplished primarily by a better utilization of domestic raw materials, the economic use of available energy, raw material and materials resources, and the increase in labor productivity.

Industrial combines accomplished a 1.8 full-day volume plan lead in their industrial output. An essential share in that high plan lead goes to such combines as the Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine, the soft coal combines in Bitterfeld and Senftenberg, the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine, the Synthetics Plant Combine Schwarzheide, the automation equipment construction combine in Berlin, the Deko Plauen Combine and many others.

Successful work was done in the coal and energy industry supplying the population and the national economy steadily with fuel and energy. By the end of October, 2.3 million tons of raw brown coal and 339,000 tons of loose coal above and beyond the plan and 421,000 tons of brown coal briquettes had been mined or produced. For the clearance a lead of 20.8 million cubic meters was achieved, which made a higher volume of coal extracted than the plan had anticipated.

Construction reached its production goals at the end of October by 101 percent and reached a plan lead of a 2.2 full-day output. Compared with the same period last year, construction had a growth rate of 3.4 percent. Net production rose by 6.6 percent. The plan was overfulfilled.

In transportation we continued shifting freights from road to railroad and waterway traffic and making transportation processes more efficient. The railroad showed a 3.2 percent increase. Its share in overall domestic freight transports rose from 67 percent last year to 72 percent now. Important is the fact that all this transportation was handled through reduced economic outlays, particularly in public transportation and plant traffic.

The Politburo wishes to point out that we succeeded better in the reporting period in using the qualitative factors in economic growth by way of socialist intensification and rationalization.

The effort on behalf of high scientific-technical achievements brought it about that since the start of the year in industry more than 3,000 tasks from the science and technology state plan and the enterprise plans were put into production. That alone will give us in 1982 a production volume of more than M 13 billion, showing much higher labor productivity, efficiency and qualities. Output with the "Q" quality seal, for instance, rose by 12.4 percent by late September compared with last year.

Another important indicator for better control over our intensively expanded economic reproduction, in line with the economic strategy issued by the 10th party congress is the development of net production. In the area of the

industrial ministries it rose by 5 percent, which is faster than did our industrial commodity production. That is the outcome of the greater efforts the working people in industrial combines and enterprises are making to improve the cost/benefit ratio.

The effort to reduce basic material costs had altogether good results. The working people in the metal-working industry made a fine contribution to that. They managed to reduce specific rolling steel consumption by 6 percent.

The advances in the implementation of the economic strategy showed up in the return to the state of material allocations. The commitment assumed, in a letter from the general directors of the combines and the Central Committee party organizers to Comrade Erich Honecker, of saving an amount of M 1 billion in raw materials, working materials and energy and returning that amount to the state, was met already in late October by almost M 1.2 billion.

The Central Committee thanks all the collectives which with great energy turned this initiative from the Riesa metallurgists into a standard procedure of theirs, whereby they made an economically significant contribution to strengthening our economy.

Results in plan fulfilment during the reporting period confirm that the GDR economy keeps developing stably and dynamically. Our working people have every good reason to be proud of it.

Yet we must not overlook that the economic upswing is quite uneven. There are considerable differences among the combines and enterprises in terms of their production, their improvement of labor productivity and efficiency, their product qualities and their reduction of production consumption. This does not mitigate the growth in national income.

We must, in this connection, overcome the disparities in the performance development and in the use of the qualitative factors of economic growth and see to it still more resolutely that each combine and enterprise completely meets its economic responsibility. There is only one way to achieve our economic performance goals everywhere. It lies in organizing our intensively expanded reproduction in terms of the measures set down in Comrade Erich Honecker's concluding speech at the fourth Central Committee plenum.

The Housing Construction Program Is Being Fulfilled rigorously

The working people in construction had by the end of October newly built or modernized 152,524 dwelling units, whereby they exceeded the quota proportion of the 1982 national economic plan. Our constant concern in educating and taking care of the young generation is reflected by the new allocation of 9,600 nursery spots, 19,295 kindergarten vacancies, 1,899 classrooms, and 103 school gyms.

The 2,727 new old-age and foster home vacancies also met the plan tasks in this field.

By rising to 108 percent compared to last year, building repairs on apartment houses perceptibly advanced. Furthermore, the population, through its "join-in!" competition, greatly contributed to apartment maintenance and the beautification of towns and communities.

The renovation of Berlin was purposefully continued, greatly through the efforts of youth within the framework of the "FDJ Initiative Berlin." By the end of October, 16,484 dwelling units, 11,096 of them new ones, were handed out in the capital.

In line with the Politburo resolution of July this year, extensive work was done to carry out the housing construction program, the centerpiece of our social policy, by means of a much improved cost/benefit ratio. In 1982, in comprehensive housing construction, while fully ensuring the planned apartments and communal facilities, an additional reduction in building costs that exceeds the plan of an expected M 290 million is in the works. That is mainly done by making earth transports more rational and using building sites more effectively.

Now, in the resolute implementation of the fourth SED Central Committee plenum resolutions, the point is to come to grips with the many questions resulting from more definitely intertwining new construction, reconstruction, modernization and preservation of structures, especially in reconditioning inner-city residential areas. That will create in all kreises and towns more favorable conditions for an efficient and high-grade implementation of the housing construction program. We furthermore have to mobilize additional performance and efficiency reserves, especially for more maintenance and repair of old housing units. We must therefore more purposefully draw general rules from the best experiences of the kreis-directed construction enterprises in the use of technological lines and the repair bases of the enterprises in the housing industry, so as to encourage the public's own initiative.

On the Results in Agriculture

The cooperative farmers and workers in socialist agriculture, proceeding from the resolutions of the third and fourth SED Central Committee plenums and of the 12th Farmers Congress of the GDR, have done a great deal in supplying the population with food and industry with important raw materials.

After the 12th Farmers Congress, the Politburo made resolutions aimed at further consolidating the rural socialist production relations and improving the efficiency of our socialist agriculture by the tapping of reserves.

The results demonstrate the vitality of the working class alliance with the class of the cooperative farmers under Marxist-Leninist party leadership. The class of the cooperative farmers and their LPG's have been further consolidated. Through close cooperation among the cooperation partners in crop and livestock production, the increased responsibility of the cooperation councils, and the extensive involvement of the entire rural population good prerequisites were created this year for high yields in crop production. Thanks to the industrious efforts of the cooperative farmers and farm workers, 10 million tons and an average yield of 39.8 decitons per hectare brought us the thus far largest grain harvest in the history of the GDR.

Because of the excessive and long-lasting drought, the efforts of the cooperative farmers and rural workers did not produce the anticipated volumes in the other cultures. The extent of the effects can be seen by that in most bezirks in our country, partly, less than one-third of the longtime mean precipitation fell. That led to growth stagnation and partly killed the cultures, mainly in potatoes, sugar beets, fodder root crops and maize, and particularly on pastures.

In addition to the drought damage there were not insignificant losses due to foot and mouth disease.

Despite the strained livestock feed situation we managed to keep livestocks stable and develop them according to plan in the reporting period. By 31 October we had 5,690,105 heads of cattle, 12,106,741 pigs and 2,193,010 sheep. This lays the basis for plan fulfilment next year, and we have to secure it at all cost.

Plan fulfilment in agriculture demonstrates that those LPG's and VEG's get ahead best where the cooperative farmers and livestock production workers assume their responsibility for a high economic end product. The most important task in the weeks and months ahead will be to produce a maximum in meat, milk and eggs by means of the livestock feed available, ensure the reproduction of cattle stocks according to plan, and ensure the contact with the new harvest.

It is a realistic task if we can overcome the unjustifiable production level disparities among the various agricultural production cooperatives and other agricultural enterprises. That applies to level differences in crop production, in the livestock feed economy, in livestock production and in the efforts made against incurring animal losses. Good training for breeders is of great importance to it.

Results of the 1982 harvest year thus far make clear the decisive importance of the struggle for an all-round plan fulfilment on schedule in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry for the GDR's national economy at large. When the work in fall is concluded proper as to deadlines and qualities, we will have favorable preconditions for high yields and achievements in 1983.

Winter grain, winter oleaginous fruits and winter catch drops were, generally, seeded at fine quality at the agrotechnically most favorable schedules. Mainly we must make sure that we use all suitable acreages and do away with unsown field edges.

By 20 November, the fall furrow had been drawn up to 93.4 percent of the acreage allotted.

The 1983 national economic plan must be fulfilled right from the first day. In the plan discussions the cooperative farmers and workers expressed their determination to reach their goals with the funds they have.

The most important task in 1983 is to direct the initiative of the cooperative farmers and workers, in socialist competition, at high yields in all cultures,

high livestock productivity, and a favorable cost/benefit ratio. As experience has confirmed, it is of benefit there to prepare and apply concepts for maximum yields for each field, for pasture land and for the stables.

The extensive application of science and technology is the most important factor for high yields and performance especially also in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry. For that reason precisely it is very important to create the necessary lead for a stable performance development through scientific-technical top performances in agricultural research. That requires close cooperation among all science areas, especially the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the Academy of Sciences, the academic institutions and industry. That objective is also served by the agricultural sciences research program.

The Central Committee secretariat has made a resolution on developing the VdgB (BHG) [Peasants Mutual Aid Association (Peasants Trade Cooperative)] as a socialist mass organization of the cooperative farmers and cooperative gardeners. That resolution has met with a broad response from all cooperative farmers. After the resolution was adopted, the VdgB got already 20,000 new members. The members and boards of the VdgB-BHG are to contribute actively to promoting the initiatives of the cooperative farmers for increasing agricultural production and making it more efficient.

The activity of the VdgB-BHG is expected to shape further the social position and responsibility of the class of the cooperative farmers as alliance partner of the workers class, support their participating in socialist democracy, and give more substance to public life in the villages. To that end, our party's bezirk and kreis managements have to provide effective guidance to the VdgB-BHG executives.

Fulfilment and Targeted Overfulfilment of the 1982 National Economic Plan and Ensuring a Good Start for the 1983 Plan

The Politburo, from the Central Committee plenum in session, directs the state and economic managers, the bezirk and kreis managements, and the party organizations at purposefully continuing the struggle for the fulfilment and targeted overfulfilment of the 1982 national economic plan up to the last day of the year. The ministers and general directors of combines are charged with aiming their management activities more still at accelerating economic growth and the boosting of labor productivity--the chief reserve for a dynamic performance development--in the weeks ahead. All possibilities must be exhausted to fulfil the 1982 plan completely. Closely connected with that is the task to prepare a smooth and stable transition to the next plan year. Party supervision must rigorously be aimed at that fundamental issue.

The Politburo underscores the initiative of many collectives in working already in accordance with the parameters of the 1983 economic plan. For that a solid basis was laid by the constructive 1983 plan draft debate conducted in recent months. We can in turn report to the Central Committee that more than 5.5 million working people took part in the democratic debate, conducted with high energy, on the completion of the 1983 economic plan.

It attests to their high sense of responsibility for the further successful implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions that almost one million working people took the floor in that constructive debate. Much more than half of their proposals aimed at higher labor productivity and greater efficiency and better labor qualities.

More than 242,000 proposals have thus far been incorporated in the plan. Ministers, the general directors of the combines, and the directors of the enterprises are obligated thoroughly to analyze the proposals and suggestions from the working people on the 1983 plan for performance improvements, greater labor productivity and efficiency, and continued improvements in working and living conditions, create prerequisites for their being implemented, and account for it before their work collectives.

The Politburo has passed on the proposals from the FDGB Executive Committee for conducting socialist competition in 1983, on the competition priorities in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, and on the FDJ and FDGB projects in job competition for the year ahead. The basic guideline, passed on by the Politburo, for socialist competition, in line with the requirements of our economic strategy, concentrates especially on the following tasks:

- (1) Significantly increasing labor productivity through further deepening intensification by way of accelerating and enhancing the economic effectiveness of scientific-technical progress and socialist rationalization, and further improving the cost/benefit ratio;
- (2) producing more and a higher grade of consumer goods for the population and for export by means of allocated raw and working materials;
- (3) further decisively reducing production consumption and prime costs so as to ensure the necessary production growth by means of available raw materials, working material and energy and enhanced refinement, and boosting the work collectives' contribution to the national income;
- (4) using better available basic assets and making investments and the social labor capacity still more effective;
- (5) meeting export tasks on schedule and in conformity with contractual terms; and
- (6) what matters is to combine still more closely the struggle for large production, efficiency and labor quality with further improvements in the working people's working and living conditions.

The Central Committee secretariat in the reporting period again concerned itself with ensuring stable fuel and energy supplies for the 1982/83 winter and made the arrangements necessary for it. It is important to meet the planning and supply tasks during the winter months every day and ensure maximum availability for surface working, briquette factories, powerplants, heating plants, gas production and energy transmission installations during peak energy requirement periods.

Further Accelerating Scientific-Technical Progress

For our continued economic policy work in implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, the Politburo emphasizes the task to achieve a much more penetrating production intensification and rationalization by accelerating our scientific-technical progress and its broad economic use. Good results have

been achieved this way. Among them are the 65-percent increase in top product production by the end of September and the fact that through research and technology 10 percent more manpower was shifted over to other assignments than last year.

A more creative performance drive by researchers, engineers and innovators requires measuring objectives and results everywhere against international standards representing the technically and economically attainable. Greater efficiency and quality growth presents the combines with the task constantly to raise the proportion of top achievements in products and technologies.

Above all it requires to proceed without compromise from the demands of our party's economic strategy in all the objectives of our scientific-technical work. The tasks resulting from that must from the outset be included in the plans and govern the preparation of the official duty records. Scientific-technical tasks must not be authorized until funds are released for them once their economic performance targets are unequivocally oriented to international market and productivity requirements. That is an obligation of the first order for each general director of a combine.

The 25th Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow has furnished vivid evidence for the importance of youth initiatives toward coping with science and technology.

Concentrating Investments on Socialist Rationalization

A great reserve for increasing production and labor productivity and reducing prime costs lies in making much better use of basic assets on hand and making investments more efficient.

Concentrating investments on socialist rationalization emphatically requires making much more of the construction of means of rationalization as the strategic-technical basis for the updating of products and the introduction of modern technologies. That will make possible using purposefully the necessary prerequisites in tools, devices and means of operation for an economic utilization of scientific-technical data.

It will become much more necessary to find rationalization solutions that connect the use of industrial robots with the modernization of production installations on hand so that highly productive technologies and procedures can produce greater economic effects. An important source for performance growth lies in reducing the time frame from putting new capacities in operation to attaining their full production effectiveness.

Enforcing an investment policy geared to highest effectiveness makes higher demands on the research and project planning collectives. The outcome of their efforts largely controls the scientific-technical level, the effectiveness and profitability of future production, the investment expenditures and the production span.

In connection with the implementation of the 1982 national economic plan, the Politburo dealt with the issues of a more efficient use of basic assets and laid down rules to make this important potential more effective. In conformity with the resolutions of the fourth Central Committee plenum, it becomes a matter of resolutely continuing the effort to increase labor productivity faster than the basic assets allocations. Part of that is increasing the daily operations of machines and installations through more shift labor.

Increasing the National Income Through Greater Reductions in Production Consumption

A basic issue for further increasing the GDR's national income lies in greatly improving the cost/benefit ratio in all economic domains and, thus, in the further reduction of production consumption. Therefore the Politburo dealt with the status of the resolution implementation in energy and materials management and set down further rules for more advances of the work in this field. Through rational energy use we have succeeded in recent months in ensuring our economic performance development without an increased consumption of primary energy.

A great performance growth through reduced energy consumption must become the yardstick for all combines and territories. So energy consumption must be ruled by accurate norms everywhere.

Fine materials management and enhanced refining of all raw materials and material used are key points for ensuring our economy's continued performance growth. That has to become still more of an object of our political-ideological work. Everywhere it must become a concern of the first rank in scientific-technical work to achieve the highest effects in refining by a reduced specific material use at high qualities, product reliability, and a volume/capacity ratio on a par with international standards.

A firm component of the Politburo's work in implementing the 10th party congress resolutions in the field of economic and social policy has been the development and deepening of socialist economic integration. In view of the exacerbation of the international situation, we intend still more resolutely to extend and deepen our economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to which, as one knows, always two-thirds of the total GDR foreign trade has gone.

The Politburo has conferred several times on expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community. Proceeding from the resolutions of the 36th CEMA session, arrangements also were made with other CEMA countries for preparing a solution for long-range cooperative tasks.

The Leipzig Fall Fair impressively confirmed the GDR's internationally recognized role as a stable and reliable economic partner. That fair, held under the motto, "For open world trade and technical progress," made an important contribution to the development of mutually advantageous economic relations with all states.

III

The State, Education, Culture and Social Organizations

The Politburo has paid appropriate attention during the reporting period to strengthening our socialist state power as the chief instrument for political stability, social security and a peaceful life for our citizens.

Greater attention is given to the work of capable and reliable mayors as representatives of socialist state power and trustees of the citizens. The Central Committee Politburo has received a report on results and experiences in the work with mayors and on the preparation given to a new generation of functionaries.

The presidium of the Council of Ministers, in a resolution of 4 November 1982, set down concrete measures for the selection, training and assignment of mayors. Obligations assumed in letters to the secretary general of the Central Committee, from the mayors' conference, are being purposefully realized.

The effectiveness of state management is gaged, not last, against how well the planning goals and obligations in the "join-in!" competition are met, how public life in each town and community keeps developing and improvements according to plan are attained in the working and living conditions, especially in the housing conditions, of the citizens.

The most important prerequisite for that lies in uniform political-ideological conduct, in a firm political position by all deputies and managers and associates of the state machinery, and in exemplary deeds of labor in all towns and communities.

Abundant Activity in Service to National Defense

Moved by concern for the protection of peace, our party is doing persistent work to solve the tasks in the field of socialist national defense. The members of the NVA and of the GDR's protective and security organs are purposefully working on the implementation of the third and fourth SED Central Committee plenum resolutions and, under party leadership, in a proven manner, reliably and conscientiously, are fulfilling their class mission as assigned by the 10th party congress. In the command organs, formations, troop components and teaching institutions of the NVA, fine political and military results were achieved during the 1981/82 training year.

Based on the Politburo decision to carry on socialist competition for the continued implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions, the minister for national defense issued a new directive on conducting socialist competition. For their exemplary achievements, 14 troop components for the first time were awarded the title of "best troop unit."

The political-moral condition of the combat collectives was reinforced and is marked mainly by the recognition that the high combat and mobilization readiness required for the reliable protection of socialism and peace has to be assured daily anew. The achievement performed in this by army personnel fills us with pride and respect.

What our working people create in industry and agriculture through their industrious efforts is steadily and securely being protected in our military service system, in combat duty and border service, through close everyday co-operation with the Soviet Army and Navy and the other fraternal socialist armies.

Furthermore, the members of the NVA and of the garrisoned units of the ministry of the interior are doing exemplary work in tackling important economic tasks.

The NVA has during the reporting period fulfilled according to plan and systematically its tasks within the scope of the Warsaw Pact united armed forces. A high point no doubt was its taking part in the joint exercise, "Shield 82," from 25 September to 1 October 1982, on Bulgarian territory and the contiguous sea areas of the Black Sea. That exercise, as all our other military efforts, fully harmonized with the Warsaw Pact countries' peace policy. It proved a school for patriotic and internationalist education and demonstrated our armies' ability to rebuff any aggressor.

The comrades in the state security ministry, the ministry of the interior and the GDR customs administration engage in successful struggle against all peace-endangering and subversive intrigues by the imperialist enemy and ensure a high level of public order and security.

Our party and our people highly appreciate the responsible service of the GDR border troops. We must also in the future do everything possible to protect our national borders reliably.

Fine results and experiences are noted in the political work and task fulfillment of the GDR civil defense. The dedication of the volunteer associates to the humanistic concern of civil defense deserves the highest appreciation and all-round promotion.

The working class militia groups have successfully completed the first part of training in the 5-year training period the Central Committee secretariat has ordered. High points were the tactics exercises conducted in the fall of 1982. Good results came from the thorough political-ideological and organizational preparations for the training measures entailing high demands. The level of the previous training period was surpassed in all parameters important for fighting strength and combat readiness, and a large participation in this training was ensured. All fighters and junior and commanding officers and all who actively supported the combat teams deserve great gratitude and recognition for their fine achievements.

Important initiatives were released by the Central Committee secretariat resolution on preparing and conducting the 30th anniversary of the working class militia in the fall of 1983. The militia members responded to that by assuming accountable obligations for further perfecting their operational readiness.

The 12th Society for Sport and Technology Congress was held between 25 and 27 June 1982. The balance-sheet drawn up on the 30 years that defense organization has been in existence indicates its increasing contribution to the communist education of youth and solid achievements in premilitary training and defense sports. Based on the 10th party congress resolutions, the GST tasks for the 1980's were worked out.

Confident Fellowship in the National Front

True to the proven principles of Marxist-Leninist alliance policy, our party is incessantly and successfully working on deepening the constructive and confident cooperation among the parties and mass organizations in the National Front of the GDR.

Our struggle for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and the safeguarding of peace received new powerful impulses for fortifying this alliance from the comradely exchange of views between Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and the representatives of the friendly parties and the president of the National Front of the GDR about topical domestic and foreign policy matters after the fourth SED Central Committee plenum on 30 June 1982.

The congresses of the LDPD, NDPD, DBD and CDU, held this year, have given most eloquent testimony to the high degree of awareness and organization among their memberships. Their congress resolutions express their determination to help shape all public life in the GDR by contributions of their own. It indicates the greater maturity of our alliance relations.

The congresses of the friendly parties released among our alliance partners many new initiatives and specific motions to enforce the economic strategy for the 1980's and for the rigorous fulfilment and targeted overfulfilment of the plan tasks. We rate this high dedication by our fellow-combatants as a convincing confirmation of their unshakable trust in our party policy and as an effective contribution to the further solidification of the political-moral unity of our people. We shall reinforce this close alliance policy cooperation on all levels.

Good achievements came in town and countryside during the reporting period from the civic initiative of the National Front, "More Beautiful Towns and Communities--Join-in!" surpassing the results of the previous year for important positions.

On 29 October 1982, the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR met under Erich Honecker as its chairman. Representatives of the Luther Committee of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR attended as guests, including its chairman, Bishop Leich.

In the committee session Erich Honecker remarked that the Martin Luther tribute of 1983 confirmed: "It is part and parcel of socialism to take from the best the German people and other peoples have produced to make existence such that man can be a man." That is shown in a vivid manner by the many activities in preparation for the 500th birthday of the great reformer, about which citizens from all strata of our society reported during the session.

The School-Year Started in an Open-minded Atmosphere

In an open-minded atmosphere questions of the struggle for peace and disarmament and of the science contribution to the implementation of the party's economic strategy were discussed with the students at the start of the 1982/83

school year. It turned out to be profitable for science specialists and party and economic functionaries to offer special lectures that addressed the vital issues of humanity and our socialist development and drew all students into the discussions. College teachers and students expressed their boundless support for the peace policy of the USSR and the whole socialist community.

There are 62,000 young people who started full-time studies this year, among them many young comrades who became party candidates during the FDJ party rally. The party organizations are going to use this reinforcement for further improving the party's fighting strength and the effectiveness of political mass activity.

The universities, colleges and technical schools are making their study plans and documents more distinct to shape further the students' own responsibility and independence and dedication. An emphasis was placed there on the consequences resulting for teaching from the 10 key points of the economic strategy. The substantive structuring of studies aims at setting up an optimum connection among basic theoretical training, theoretical-methodological education and the acquisition of specialized knowledge and at promoting all gifts and talents early in the game.

The central performance show sponsored jointly with the 25th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow was the students' and young scientists' public status account on the advances made in this. The more than 1,600 projects reflected the greater productivity of mental work in teaching and study. A point should be made of the contributions in such important fields as the research on the inevitabilities of developed socialism and on the application of microelectronics and robot technology.

The Central Committee secretariat on 10 November 1982 received a report on the results of the assignment of FDJ students brigades. The summer work of students reflected to a special degree the readiness of young students to devote all they have to socialism. Altogether, a total of more than 46,000 students worked in FDJ students brigades on economic priorities and came up with high economic achievements. Some 21,600 of them worked within the scope of the FDJ Berlin Initiative in our capital.

When the plan for basic research in mathematics, the natural and the technical sciences was made more distinct in recent months, good advances were made in concentrating research on crucial economic tasks.

Important efforts were undertaken by scientists, master workers and specialists in workshops and laboratories of Academy institutes and colleges to shore up research projects in material and technical terms so that more and better results are achieved for science development by means of funds and resources on hand.

These initiatives are mainly aimed at the construction and maintenance of scientific devices and making available biochemicals and refined chemicals for important research projects.

To disseminate more rapidly and efficiently use over again new scientific methods and the results in scientific instrument construction in science and production, the Karl Marx University in Leipzig sponsored its first "Science Equipment Construction Fair of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs." In the outcome of that exhibition, more than 200 reuse contracts have thus far been signed with industrial science facilities.

The Central Committee secretariat has passed on the "conception for the long-range development of techniques at universities and colleges." That has made important decisions on the further expansion of the material-technical base and a closer combination between basic and applied research.

High Effectiveness of Pedagogical Work

Of great importance in politically getting ready for the 1982/82 school year were the public education activists' meetings held once again in all kreises on the basis of the Politburo resolution of 1 June 1982. The kreis first secretaries there explained the resolutions of the fourth Central Committee plenum and the tasks and problems arising from them for their implementation in the territories. The focal point was placed on the questions of aggressive political work among school youth and on the experience exchange about how the effectiveness of pedagogical work can and must be heightened.

Conferences in the school party organizations and on the pedagogical councils reflect the greater political maturity of the pedagogues and school functionaries in their wanting to do what they can to help implement the 10th party congress resolutions.

In the first weeks of the school year, more than 2.5 million mothers and fathers, in a constructive and confident atmosphere, elected the more than 540,000 members of the teachers' aides groups. The parents' conferences indicated that the parents highly appreciate the party's solicitude for their children's development as a benefit of socialism, of which we must make a full use in our confident fellowship for the education within the family and in school.

The Politburo paid much attention throughout the reporting period to the development of socialist art and culture. Right after the fourth Central Committee plenum, the 19th Workers Festivals of the GDR and the Cultural Festivals of the Working People in Socialist Agriculture were held. They indicated with how much success the socialist cultural policy of the 10th party congress is being implemented. Especially in Neubrandenburg Bezirk the festival showed most impressively how effectively intellectual-cultural life can contribute to reinforcing the citizens' bonds with our socialist state and their pride in our revolutionary accomplishments, arousing creativeness, and increasing the job satisfaction and joy of life in our socialist society.

In July, the Central Committee secretariat came out with a resolution on the tasks in the community halls and clubs. It contains the higher political-ideological, artistic and managerial tasks for these facilities that are so massively effective and so very popular among the population.

The Fourth Congress of the GDR Film and Television Association was prompted by the realization that the demands made on the substantive ideas and mass effectiveness of art and culture are noticeably increasing. The movie and television people turned their congress, which was held in Berlin in September 1982, into an important signpost for the continued implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions in the field of movies and television. They showed a party-minded stance in acknowledging their responsibility in the struggles of our era.

The Politburo received a report from Berlin Bezirk Management on the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions in the field of socialist national culture. Berlin Bezirk Management has come up with good results in its consistent and continuous activity. The basic organizations, it was found, are taking an increasingly better account of the party's leadership role in the field of cultural policy. More than ever, culture and art have the task in the 1980's to reinforce socialist convictions, unfold the working people's creative capacities and foster the shaping of their socialist way of life.

This involves the whole range of culture and art in all domains of life in our socialist society, in enterprises, residential areas and the cultural institutions. We are especially endeared to originating and disseminating works of art that depict the work and life of our people in shaping the developed socialist society, in strengthening the workers and farmers power, and in the struggle for peace, in a realistic manner and with high artistic skill.

Bezirk and kreis managements are oriented to further enhancing the role of the communists in all cultural and art institutions and to more cooperation with artists and creators of culture. The party organizations ought to pay special attention to systematic political and technical work with the new generation of artists.

Since the fourth Central Committee plenum, international cooperation in the cultural field with the fraternal socialist countries and other states has been deepened and expanded. The Days of the Soviet Book and the Soviet Film Festival this year stood under the aegis of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and the 65th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. They once again confirmed the close bonds of our country's citizens with the literature and art of the Soviet Union's peoples.

Several times the GDR hosted cultural activities with international guests. Leading ensembles and orchestras from many countries in the world enriched this year's Berlin Festival and the Dresden Music Festival.

Big Activities by the FDJ and Its Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer Organization

On 16 September, Comrade Erich Honecker and other party executive members, after the fifth Central Council conference, which had issued the "FDJ Peace Rally," received the Central Council members and candidates and the FDJ bezirk and kreis first secretaries. In this meeting, which impressively documented the close ties between the party and the FDJ, the youth association announced its intention to make an important contribution, through its peace rally, to the all-round strengthening of the GDR and the defense of socialism.

Comrade Erich Honecker's speech at that meeting assigns essential tasks for the continued implementation of the 10th party congress orientation for carrying on the communist education of all youth at a higher level.

The "FDJ Peace Rally" is a pertinent response to the appeal by the party congress addressing the young coshapers of the developed socialist society so they make the communists' purpose of living their own.

The secretariat accepted a report on the central youth project, "FDJ Berlin Initiative" and took measures to extend it till 1985. Already more than 4,000 FDJ members and senior working people are working on the oil pipeline in the Soviet Union. The first pipes have been shifted, and the construction of compressor stations and dwelling units has begun. The FDJ has taken on new youth projects in our republic.

The FDJ's culture conference, held in Leipzig in October, became a significant event in the political life of our country. It stressed the great responsibility culture and art bear for the communist education of youth. Essential suggestions came from there for the intellectual life of youth and for the further development of our socialist national culture. Thereby the FDJ has made an important contribution to the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions in the cultural policy field. The conference and the subsequent festival for young talents and young artists were prepared in an atmosphere of confident talks between the FDJ and creators of culture. A great number of new remarkable works of art originated there. The partnership of creators of culture, artists and the FDJ once again has proven most fruitful.

A resolute implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions makes high demands on functionaries, including those in the FDJ. The secretariat received a Central Council report on "results, experiences and conclusions of cadre work in the FDJ." Special attention was given there to a class-bound education, training and testing of the young functionaries.

The Seventh Pioneer Meeting in Dresden was a magnificent demonstration of our children's will for peace, their love for the socialist fatherland, and their ties with our party, which found its expression especially in their impassioned affirmation of Comrade Erich Honecker's speech. The young and Thaelmann pioneers turned their meeting into an inspiring performance exhibition. The vast store of experiences from the Seventh Pioneer Meeting ought to be used to hold the pioneer expedition, "My Homeland the GDR," on a high level in all pioneer groups and pioneer friendships.

More of a Boost to Sports

Considering what has been accomplished since the fourth Central Committee plenum in physical culture and sports, it certainly makes sense to say there has been another upsurge in sports in our country. An impressive picture of the various initiatives and activities of the athletes, both male and female, is shown by the fine results of the contests of the DTSB of the GDR, "Spartacus and Sports Festival Relay 83." Another 73,000 became members in the socialist sports organization. Newly founded were 138 sports clubs, 1,063 sections and 1,015 general sports groups.

More than 2 million citizens joined the movement aspiring after the GDR sports medal, "Ready for Work and for the Defense of Our Homeland."

This year's children's and youth Spartacus festivals in the kreises and bezirks concluded with fine results. Some 3.6 million boys and girls in the elimination contests, 970,000 participating in the kreis Spartacus festivals, and 100,000 athletes taking part in the bezirk Spartacus festivals are eloquent testimony to the joint, continual and purposeful, work of the DTSB of the GDR, the organs of public education, the FDJ and its Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization.

Kreis sports festivals with their many types of sports adapted to the various age-groups became massively effective high points in leisure-time and recreational sports.

Competitive athletes produced many fine accomplishments at the different world and European championships which fill our citizens with joy and satisfaction.

IV

Successful Party Activity

More than 2 million communists in our party have done much creative and successful work in the reporting period in implementing the fourth Central Committee plenum resolutions jointly with our country's working people.

It is the impression of the Politburo that the bezirk and kreis managements have drawn the required conclusions from analyzing the fourth Central Committee plenum in further elevating the level of their management activity, mainly in providing effective and convincing political work for attaining our economic objectives.

The creative and successful work of millions of working people for the all-round strengthening of the GDR convincingly expresses the growth of the SED's leadership role, it being the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the workers class and the entire GDR people.

The analysis of the fourth Central Committee plenum in bezirk and kreis managements, in bezirk and kreis activists' meetings initiating the party school year, and at the public education activists' conferences furnished new creative impulses for fulfilling the 10th SED Congress resolutions and turned into an experience exchange among more than 300,000 party activists and managerial functionaries about the most effective methods in mass and party activity for deepening the working people's relationship of trust with the party. Those conferences were imbued with the will to reach the targets of the 1982 national economic plan, meet the extra commitments assumed, and achieve the necessary contribution to ensuring an economic performance improvement in the GDR by responsibly preparing the 1983 plan.

The conclusions the bezirk managements have drawn from analyzing the fourth plenum take account of the requirement to direct the capacity of all party and work collectives at fully exhausting the reserves for intensively expanded reproduction. Such tried and tested forms and methods of management activity as working with long-range conceptions, massively effective action slogans, performance comparisons and management examples should be used more effectively while attention is paid to all new experiences.

That also was the concern of the report from the Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk Management to the Politburo entitled "Party Management Activity in Implementing the Economic Strategy of the 10th SED Congress in the Enterprises of Industry and Socialist Agriculture."

Bezirk Management, through purposeful leadership activity, increasingly managed to make a more effective use of the grown material-technical and intellectual potential in the bezirk, so as to meet ever better its responsibility for strengthening the GDR's economic capacity.

The Politburo made the point that mainly by concentrating political-ideological and organizational work by the party on science and technology, new reserves are to be tapped for our intensively expanded reproduction.

A crucial criterion for party work lies in the ability closely to combine political-ideological, economic and organizational work and make that effective in the development of the working people's mass initiative. The quality of party work is more and more gaged against how well the executive party organs can, persistently and systematically, draw general rules from the experiences of advanced party organizations. Here one must objectively analyze any given situation and draw concrete inferences from each and every labor sector.

Ever more closely connected with the efforts for high achievements in party and mass political work is the growing importance of systematic party supervision. That, experience has shown, promotes the kind of climate where each on his job and in his field assumes the full responsibility for carrying out the tasks and no evasion in solving complicated tasks is tolerated and no shoving off responsibilities onto others. Advice, suggestions and criticism from party and work collectives deserve the greatest attention. In particular, a most conscientious use should be made of the rich treasure of propositions advanced during the 1983 plan debate.

Basic Organizations Are Working on New Campaign Programs

Typical of the working style of many kreis managements after the fourth Central Committee session has been that they have more effectively brought to bear the great capacity of the basic organizations by allowing them more work that is creative and comes out of their own responsibility.

The Politburo has the impression that the basic organizations are seeking ever more creatively and with richer ideas the application of the 10th party congress resolutions. This maturation process was vividly reflected by the membership meetings that analyzed the fourth Central Committee plenum. The model

effect of the party members' struggling for a great contribution of their own to the performance dynamics of the GDR economy became more distinct. The membership meetings thereby lent new impulses to the implementation of our principle, "Wherever There Is a Comrade, There Is the Party, Too!"

The Central Committee secretariat received a report from the basic organization in the VEB printing machinery plant Planeta, Radebeul, about the results and experiences of the political-ideological work in fulfilment of the production tasks. The comrades in that basic organization were induced by the fourth Central Committee plenum resolutions to bring the qualitative factors of economic growth into effect through new initiatives. Especially the report from the party organization of the Radebeul printing machinery plant provides new evidence for the effectiveness of concrete campaign programs.

So it is welcome that in most membership meetings of basic organizations that dealt with analyzing the fourth Central Committee plenum the party collectives reviewed the fulfilment and further development of their campaign programs.

We advise all basic organizations to use the results of the 1982 plan and of the debate on the 1983 plan to prepare their campaign programs which will have to be ratified in the membership meetings in January.

The campaign programs for 1983 ought to direct party and mass activity more consistently at our intensively expanded reproduction and thereby make science and technology more of a motor for the everyday labor rhythm in the enterprises and the basis for the stability and dynamics of the reproduction process.

The work results of the party collectives in the implementation of the 10th SED Congress and the Central Committee resolutions confirm that the consolidation of the basic organizations' fighting strength depends mainly on the level of intra-party life. The further elevation of the party's leadership role turns more than ever our developed intra-party democracy, collectivity, criticism and self-criticism in the basic organizations into the point of departure for the communists' conscious discipline and uniform conduct.

Through basic organization work shall go, like a red thread, the communist education that will instill a principled and disciplined implementation of the 10th party congress and Central Committee resolutions in any given situation.

In the months since the fourth Central Committee plenum, our party has done most intensive and extensive ideological work. Many Politburo and Central Committee secretariat resolutions and many other party documents, especially the speeches by our secretary general, took a position on the ideological questions in the continued implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, thereby assigning a direction and goal to our political mass activity efforts. On that basis, the bezirk and kreis managements and the basic party organizations have done much to improve the comprehension of our domestic and foreign policy tasks and mobilize our country's citizens for actively bringing them to realization.

Confirmed again is the experience that our citizens' initiatives toward fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan tasks develop all the more mightily and purposefully, the more convincingly and aggressively the daily conversations within the work collectives are conducted.

Much has been done toward reinforcing the realization that the preservation of peace today requires more than ever tapping all intellectual and material potentials, through a fraternal fighting alliance with the USSR and the other states in the socialist community, for comprehensively strengthening the political, economic and military power of socialism. We shall purposefully carry on the great ideological work done by the party and mass organizations among all classes and strata of our people while approaching the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

The 65th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution became altogether climactic. During the celebration sponsored by the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the GDR on 5 November 1982 in Berlin, where Comrade Erich Honecker spoke, the world-transforming role of the Great Socialist October Revolution and the vitality and timeliness of its doctrines for today's struggle for socialism, peace and social progress in the world were demonstrated, and the unshakability of our fraternal alliance with the CPSU was underscored.

More Than 1.7 Million Take Part in the Party School Year

The revolutionary life's work of Karl Marx was the focal point of the first theme in the party school year. The bezirk and kreis party activists' meetings initiating the 1982/83 party school year made a fine beginning for our aggressive political-ideological work. They were attended by circa 125,000 party activists and propagandists. The party activists' meetings brought out clearly that growing importance attaches to the party school year through the thorough acquisition of Marxist-Leninist theory, party strategy and tactics and party history by all communists and through the further consolidation of the party organizations' fighting strength.

A total of more than 1.7 million communists and unaffiliated working people attend the 1982/83 party school year. Last year the study of the 10th party congress documents followed a uniform topical plan; now it is going to be continued through circles, seminars and lecture cycles taking up their specific themes. The largest portion, more than 41 percent of total attendance, is made up by the seminars for the study of the basic problems of political economy of socialism and the SED's economic policy.

In the bezirk and kreis management party schools, 70,000 functionaries again in September started a systematic study of Marxist-Leninist theory and of party policy. Proceeding from the new criteria established for the continued implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, the most significant mission of the party schools now is enabling the functionaries to conduct the party organizations' struggle for rigorously fulfilling the Central Committee resolutions at high quality and fulfil any task assigned them by the party with revolutionary fighting spirit and high personal dedication.

The results of our work since the last Central Committee plenum thus confirm that we, relying on the advances and experiences in implementing the line of the 10th party congress, and in firm alliance with Lenin's party and land, can attack the tasks for 1983 with strength and confidence.

5885
CSO: 2300/66

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REGIME'S CONSPICUOUS INTEREST IN 'LUTHER JUBILEE' ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 82 p 4

Article signed 'rkr': "GDR Prepares for Luther Year"

Text The GDR is spending an astounding amount of money on preparations for the Luther Jubilee 1983. Wherever the reformer lived or worked, restoration work is in full swing. Luther's birthplace in Eisleben, where he was born on 10 November 1843, has been turned into a construction site marked "entry forbidden." The house in Eisleben, where he died on 17 February 1546, is also included in the work of restoration. A major overhaul is taking place in the former Augustine Monastery in Erfurt, where Luther lived as a monk in 1505-1511. This overhaul includes the church and the monks' cells. Completion appears near of the work on the Wartburg where, in winter 1521/1522, Luther--then an outlaw--translated the New Testament. The inside of Wittenberg city church is being completely restored. High up on the tower of the Wittenberg palace church, on the door of which Luther nailed his defiant theses on 31 October 1517, 190,000 new mosaic tiles are being set to refurbish the key sentence of the Protestant hymn "Our God is a Strong Fortress."

State and Church Preparations

These works of restoration would be impossible unless expressly sanctioned by the regime. On 13 June 1980, chaired by SED chief Erich Honecker, a GDR Martin Luther Committee was constituted in Berlin with 100 members. On that occasion Honecker celebrated the reformer as "one of the most important humanists, whose efforts were for a more equitable world." Historial Prof Horst Bartel, GDR Academy of Sciences, outlined the basic attitude: "Martin Luther holds a vital place in the progressive traditions of German history. These were adopted by the working class and the people as a whole, continued in new conditions and culminated in the victory of socialism in the GDR." Church representatives, for their part, point out that in past times Marxist theoreticians attempted to present a very differentiated Luther image.

In addition to this committee, convoked by state representatives, a Church Luther Committee has been at work since 1978. It intends to let Luther speak for himself. Its slogan for the jubilee year is taken from Luther's "Kleiner Katechismus" Short Catechism : "To fear, love and confide in God above all things." Its chairman, Thuringia Land Bishop Werner Leich, outlined his expectations in the course of an interview. The prime consideration is that of deepening the faith of the congregations. Seven regional Church conferences in Dresden, Eisleben, Erfurt, Frankfurt/O.,

Magdeburg, Rostock and Wittenberg will be conducted with the slogan "dare to be confident" and are designed to carry the Gospel to society as a whole with the greatest possible publicity. Going by previous experience, at least half the people attending church conferences are young. Leich also hopes for a broad encounter with other denominations and an impetus toward the settlement of matters separating Lutherans and Catholics. Erfurt is also to host an international Luther Research Congress.

Two Goals

We are justified in asking why the government is making such a conspicuous effort for the Luther Year. Two goals are prominent: For one the GDR is endeavoring as emphatically as possible to make its own people conscious of their national identity. A sweeping look at history is particularly suitable for this purpose. For the other the GDR intends to put forward its best face to visitors arriving in the GDR in the Luther Jubilee Year. Honecker concluded his address to the state committee's second meeting on 29 October 1982 with the following invitation: "We extend a cordial welcome to all visitors who feel devoted to Martin Luther and his work. When staying with us they will have an opportunity to witness real socialism as organized by our people in true freedom." However, the most closely guarded national border of Europe is by no means being loosened.

Moreover, when considering this conspicuous GDR approval of an ecclesiastical celebration, we are bound to think of something else, too: The state, founded on Marxism-Leninism, may well be quite pleased that there are churches which, by their particular ideology, are specially inclined to devote themselves to the service of their less fortunate fellow men. The charitable works of the GDR Union of Protestant Churches maintain 48 hospitals with 6,600 beds, 273 retirement and nursing homes with 11,000 places and 105 homes for 5,400 mentally and physically handicapped people. Some 8 million of the GDR's total population of 16.75 million consider themselves Protestants and 1.3 millions Catholics. Another 150,000 are members of a free church or other religious congregation.

11698
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HUNGARY

POPE'S MESSAGE TO VISITING BISHOPS REPORTED

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 24 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Our Bishops in Rome: the Address of the Holy Father to the Bishops]

[Text] We have reported that Pope John Paul II received on 7 October the members of the Hungarian Council of Bishops, who arrived in Rome for an "ad limina" visit. In the following we shall report the address made by the Holy Father to the bishops. First the Holy Father greeted the bishops, who came to Rome together with Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, archbishop of Esztergom, to worship at the grave of The Apostle and to meet with his successor. Through them he sent his greetings to the whole Hungarian nation with its eminently rich, thousand-year-old Christian history and to the beloved Hungarian Church, which through the centuries has always borne witness of its deep adherence and indomitable loyalty to the Roman Pope and the seat of Saint Peter beginning with Saint Stephen, Saint Laszlo, the king, and the martyr Saint Gellert. The Pope continued his address as follows, and we quote:

"Our meeting today is not at all an isolated and incidental one but rather the crowning of many ties which have followed one another since the beginning of my papacy. Whether through letters I sent to you or through visits like that of the Cardinal undersecretary on the occasion of the thousand-year-old celebration of the birth of the martyr Bishop Saint Gellert, the travels of Luigi Poggi in your country, or your individual and collective visits of Rome on the occasion of the dedication of the Vatican Chapel of Our Lady of Hungary." The Holy Father here noted that he was familiar with the reports prepared for the "ad limina" visit of the bishops. He was happy to meet with each of them and to be informed of the situation in their diocese. As on the occasion of their individual visits they have now informed him collectively of their joys, sorrows and hopes that they have encountered in the fulfillment of their pastoral missions. The Pope shares their joys and cares and accepts them as his own. He is happy to affirm that the Christian tradition is alive in Hungary, particularly the reverence for Mary, which has become rooted in the soul of the Hungarians. We may regard with hope the religious awakening of the young generation. The demand is growing among the faithful that their faith should be deepened as is witnessed by the

number of those enrolled in the theological correspondence course. Moreover, the fact that every Hungarian diocese has a bishop entitles us to hope that efforts are being intensified to improve the situation of the Church in Hungary and that these efforts with their great perseverance and mutual respect will bring positive results. "I wish from my heart," said the Holy Father, and we quote, "that these efforts will lead to the solution of the serious problems that still exist."

On Youth

Then the Holy Father spoke of those problems which he knew of through the reports of and his conversations with the bishops. He said:

"It appears that the solution of several problems requires your special commitment. First of all, the teaching of the catechism to the young and in general to the faithful requires your constantly diligent and generous care. You know that this problem is of vital importance. On Easter, 6 April 1980, I wrote a letter to the entire Hungarian Church. In it I recalled the serious obligation which the bishops of the diocese, the priests of the parish, all parents have in the teaching of the catechism. Parents have received from God their great responsibility for the education of their children. Despite all difficulties, it is your mission as good shepherds of the flock of Christ constantly to strive in the most effective way to fulfill the holy and serious obligation of assuring your faithful, especially the young, a basic religious education. To this end, you must attend to and put in the balance all available means. Therefore I exhort you to look with constantly increasing zeal after the schools, actually too few in number, which are operating in your country in order that they may appropriately fulfill their role. In regard to the teaching of the catechism, you have for some time, my Reverend Brothers, been faced with the serious difficulties of the ecclesiastical basic communities. This problem is rightfully troubling you as the responsible bishops of the Church. A positive solution to this problem can no longer be delayed without harm to unity. In my aforementioned Easter letter with reference to the apostolic exhortation of my predecessor of blessed memory, Paul VI, beginning with *Evangelii nuntiandi* I emphasized: 'These communities, in order to be called truly ecclesiastical, must above all be in firm unity with the local churches into which they are built and through these into the universal church always together with their bishops and acting under their guidance.' I am certain that you will support and openly assist those basic communities which observe these guidelines, and I would wish that all of them adjust as soon as possible to the norms."

On the Family

Furthermore, the family problem requires special care. "Unfortunately, in your country, as generally elsewhere, the family is in a serious spiritual crisis. Divorces are spreading, abortions are increasing and births are declining. We are speaking of the problems of modern societies in the industrialized world. One of the most important obligations of the Church is to guard the institution of the family as firmly tied to the basic

principles of Christian faith. To prepare appropriately those about to enter on matrimony, constantly to offer sacramental, moral and community support, to teach and lead spouses to love, to be faithful, to worship and partake in joint prayer. In my apostolic exhortation beginning *Familiaris consortio* I mentioned the following: "At a historical moment when many forces are seeking to break down or distort the family, the Church feels its mission more keenly and urgently, in knowledge of the fact that the good of society and of itself is closely tied to the good of the family, and that it proclaims to everyone the plan of God for marriage and family, providing the family with full life-force and human, Christian development, and contributing in this way to the renovation of society and the people of God."

My Reverend Brothers! We should naturally turn our loving attention to the monastic communities of men and women which have performed such worthy work throughout the centuries in the culture, history and progress of the Hungarian nation. Now here I can only give expression to my fervent wish and prayer, in which you, too, certainly share, that all those who in your country sense the call of the Lord to devote themselves to Him in monastic life, including the meditative monastic form of life, can follow their calling for building the people of God and serving the civil community."

On the Priests

"Now I shall remind you with special care of your priests, who are your necessary and immediate work colleagues. You have stated with rightful satisfaction that you have good priests who devotedly and generously endure the burdens of the day in the vineyards of the Lord. Although most of them are of advanced age and often in poor health. My Reverend Brothers! Always be close to your priests, and behave toward them with fatherly feeling, respect their work, make their problems and interests your own, and actually give them your support. Above all, maintain with them the relations of friendship, confidence and fatherly solicitude. In this way, a priesthood living in unity and solidarity will surround you, and you will fulfill your mission with greater efficiency. On this day I would like specially to make mention of old priests, whether in the diocese or in the monasteries, as well as the sisters, who live in social homes and pass the long years of their life in managing schools, teaching pupils and caring for the sick. Moreover, I express my gratitude for all those who pray daily to God for the Vicar of Christ and for the Church, and who offer up their sufferings and problems of advanced age for the salvation of all. From my heart I ask the merciful God to strengthen with His heavenly grace these aged servants and maid-servants of His!"

In my address here I shall naturally mention the question of seminaries and the priestly calling. I offer from my heart the constant and diligent furthering of these to your apostolic care. Let us recall the words of Christ: "The harvest truly is great, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send laborers into His harvest!" Let there be no lack of zealous prayer initiatives in your diocese. Pray to the Lord that he should send many generous workers to fulfill their

service to the holy field of the soul's salvation. With full devotion help the seminaries to be firm homes of deeply spiritual and intellectual education for the youth who are called to priestly service, and follow with fatherly solicitude the various phases of their life even when they are fulfilling military service.

Finally in a more general but no less important field, I call on you that you increasingly improve the education of your followers in pastoral care and for the joint responsibility to which they are called by strength of their baptism and general priesthood according to the principles of the Second Vatican Synod."

After enumerating several important problems of the Hungarian Church, the Holy Father, in the concluding portion of his address, acknowledged that the bishops lead as fathers and masters those who are entrusted to their care, and then he turned to them with fraternal encouragement: "Through unified and fervent priests and through well-trained and loyal lay people inspire in your diocese the true Christian testimony. Through decisions made at conferences of the Council of Bishops, you yourselves should see to the joint forms of pastoral activity, generous and mutual cooperation, regular programming of the solution to pastoral problems, and finally to the wise distribution of means and energies." The Holy Father gave his apostolic blessing to the Hungarian bishops, and he extended this to the priests, the seminarians, to the men and women in the monastic orders, and to all the faithful in Hungary. Finally, he also sent his special greetings and good wishes to all those Hungarian citizens who do not follow the Catholic faith.

Reception

A reception for the Hungarian bishops visiting in Rome was given on the evening of 7 October by Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, primate and archbishop of Esztergom, and by the Rector of the Hungarian Papal Institute, Laszlo Danko, at the seat of the Institute in the Palazzo Falconieri. Attending the reception were Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, undersecretary, Bishop Luigi Poggi, and others from the undersecretary's office, monastic order principals and bishops, and Hungarian clerical and lay people living in Rome. At eight o'clock they showed the color documentary film which was prepared on the visit in Hungary of Cardinal Agostini Casaroli, undersecretary, on the occasion of the observance of the birth of the martyr Bishop Saint Gellert, and of the dedication of the Hungarian Chapel in the Vatican. This was followed by a concert given by Italian musicians.

Holy Mass in the Hungarian Chapel in the Vatican

On the morning of 8 October the Hungarian Bishops led by Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, primate, concelebrated holy mass in the Vatican Chapel of Our Lady of Hungary. A number of Hungarians living in Rome, and tourists, were present. At the beginning of the mass, Cardinal Laszlo Lekai said the following among other things:

"One cannot enter this Chapel without being moved because we are seized by the thought that this task waited on us, the now living Hungarian Chapel in the Vatican in unifying Hungarians:

"The "ad limina" visit of the bishops is a recommencement. After giving account: a weighing, deliberation, again the call of the Holy Spirit in order that we may go farther, and that the next 5 years should be more successful. Here where we stand everything is new. This Hungarian Chapel was dedicated 2 years ago when Pope John Paul II concelebrated with the Hungarian bishops. We are thankful for this and feel that the 15 million Magyars throughout the world have received a new spiritual center. The Council of Hungarian Bishops is beginning the recommencement with the reckoning that we have taken a step and this must be developed further. The "ad limina" visits began in the time of Saint Stephen when Europe was yearning for the unity of the Christian nations; the storms of the great migrations had subsided and they became aware that there is a spiritual center: the grave of The Apostle. And as the Romans made pilgrimages to the Ara Pacis from all corners of the world, the sons of the nations made pilgrimages here around the year 1,000--Irish, Spaniards, Portugues, Russians, Ukrainians, and others. Kings and sovereigns came for an "ad limina" visit. They were followed by the bishops and the faithful. We are in that time when Europe's unity became necessary and the "ad limina" became not only the symbol of this unity, but its reality. The unity of the eternally living Peter.

We want to go farther. I could put this in the words of the Synod: we want to make the Church omnipresent. We shall go home and march forward with bold, determined strides.

The Fifth Symposium of the European bishops has now been concluded. What did we speak of there? Of re-evangelization. Europe has become pagan, secularized. We must make it Christian once again, we must evangelize Europe once more. The Pope said at the Symposium: the bishops and priests are primarily responsible for the kind of Europe we will have tomorrow. And this is bewilderingly true. This is how the bishops went home from the Symposium: We are responsible!

This is no small responsibility. More integrity, more integrity! This is what we need. In this corruption, only a redeemed humanity will save the world. Man who meets with God in Jesus Christ, and humanity possessed by God will again be capable of saving the world. This is what Cluny once was, and this was once behind the "ad limina." It was then that Europe discovered that Peter represents the mystic Christ, and where Peter is there is the Church. Not only in congregations and institutions but also in the representation of the mystic Christ. Every heresy and every error has failed. Not because they condemned and confronted Peter, who was given the keys, but because of the confrontation with that Peter who represents Christ in his everyday worship in the order of priesthood. They pushed aside the mystic Christ and explained him according to their own taste.

We are here to give account and to recommence. We look about in this world which is filled with crises, and again we state: nothing else can save us but faith! If we do not have this faith, we cannot even have hope. Then all our human efforts will be bankrupt. Can we once more call out: I believe in the Lord!

On the morning of 11 October, the Hungarian bishops arrived back in Hungary. Cardinal Laszlo Lekai and Imre Timko, Greek Catholic bishop of Hajdudorog remained in Rome. The Hungarian bishops said their last concelebrated holy mass at 4 o'clock in the afternoon on 9 October in the Saint Paul Basilica outside the walls with the participation of Many Hungarian faithful. The main celebrant was Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, primate.

6691
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YOUNG WORKERS POLLED ON CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW TRADE UNIONS

Meaning of 'Self-Governing' Unions

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 4 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

The opinions expressed were recorded by B. Redzioch, L. Nauka, D. Koniec and W. Jurczak

Text Pursuing our investigations as to what kind of trade unions one expects to be, our reporters have inquired of the young workers, members of the ZSMP Union of Socialist Polish Youth, about the meaning of the "self-governing" trade union? How should this self-governing be understood in the daily routine of an enterprise? What is the role of the individual, that is the so-called rank-and-file member, in the formation of this notion?

These are their opinions expressed on this subject:

Ryszard Radomski - "Walbrzych" Mining Plants in Walbrzych:

Union self-government should function on the premises of a plant or enterprise. Naturally, it should relate to the functioning of the union organization and matters that will fall within the scope of the activity of the trade unions. There is one thing that I know at present for sure--a trade union cannot play at politics. It should be more concerned with matters that are being labeled as "human matters." Things that a workplace is owing to its workers. After the 13th of December commissions of social affairs were formed--they try to "patch up a hole" that arose from the suspension of the trade unions. But despite strenuous efforts not all is as it should be. Certain tasks can be performed only by the people that represent a certain group of persons, by which they are elected and act in its name.

Trade unions should likewise have the possibility of taking part in discussions of economic decisions concerning activities of the enterprise in which they function. As I understand it, this can be achieved through the participation of union representatives in the workers self-government. Under conditions of economic reform the defense of workers' interests will constitute an especially sensitive matter.

It is unimportant at this moment what name the unions will have. However, already at present we may emphasize that these must be authentic workers' unions. Also they cannot function apart from the plant's life. The rank and file of the union members will consist of the people that are likewise active in the ZSMP or PZPR, and of many non-Party men. The union must represent the interests of everyone, and thus become a specific plane of understanding.

To be sure, the self-government of the unions does not mean that they will be uncontrolled. After all they will function in our country where all institutions, or organizations, are subject at least to control by the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control]. And within such control the trade unions should also fall. One cannot form "a state within the state."

The workplace is such a small community of working people that it is possible to introduce a democracy there that is closest to the ideal. There is no need, therefore, for union organs to take independent decisions on important questions in someone's behalf or to represent someone's standpoint. It will be always possible to carry out a referendum quickly. Its results will represent the standpoint of the union organization from a given workplace.

Mieczyslaw Koziol--electrician from the Chief Power Engineering Section of the MEWA Knitwear Goods and Hosiery Plants in Bilgoraj:

Union self-government--this very statement already means that the union should be self-governed, based on its statute and resolutions of its members, which should be passed while observing and respecting the law of the country. Union self-government should also include the financial sphere of the union and its assets. Control and watch over proper management of these values should rest with the eligible union bodies--perhaps with the board of control or auditing committee--which should not be subordinated to the elective managing board or other trade union organs. They should be responsible only to the members.

Finally, self-government also means the relations between elected authorities of the trade unions and the members. Here one thing should be clear: no instance of any important matter--I mean here strikes--should be decided without previous general consultation with members. In the matter of strikes, right to work, wages, social achievements--I emphasize: all decisions--decisions of special importance for members and state--must be submitted to consultation.

Danuta Bielak--manager of the Organization and Administration Section of the MEWA Knitwear Goods and Hosiery Plants in Bilgoraj:

Union self-government means also its cooperation with other organizations, with government, its organs, with administration. I fully agree with the resolution of the 9th Party Congress which states that "a leading principle of union activity should be to represent broadly-conceived workers' interests and developmental needs of national economy," and emphasizes "a need for joint responsibility of trade unions for the increase of national output, and the shaping of economic and social policy." Therefore the union should be

self-governing, but this self-government should obligate it to cooperate with all other people for the good of union members and for the good of the country.

Jerzy Bruegier--metal worker from the Mining Equipment and Tools Factory in Katowice:

Self-government is--not only in my opinion--the basis of real union activity. To be self-governing is to be able to decide about all, and especially about those most essential, matters. To be sure, the union must have managerial authorities who should be elected by the totality of members in a fully democratic manner. When we entrust to some persons the mandate of our confidence, we at the same time empower them to engage in certain undertakings in our name without specific consultations. In electing them we already impart to them our intent and our wishes and what they have to arrange. However, when some especially "drastic" activities will be involved, for example strikes and actions conceived on a wide scale, then making such decisions must be very thoroughly and honestly consulted with the members. It cannot be any other way. Self-government cannot be limited by anything. One of its important aspects is the possibility of a wide control over union authorities, for example in the matter of assets, and this control is exercised by union members themselves, or--but only at their explicit request--by other state organizations, for example the NIK.

Pawel Andrys--operator of the Concrete-mixing Center of the Construction Combine in Bytom:

As a member of the trade union I want and must have the right and possibility to influence activities of this union, to decide about its activities and about the forms that it assumes. I must also have the possibility to control its elected organs. That is how I understand self-government. Naturally--self-government does not mean a complete exclusion from the general movement of social and union organizations--there is room in it for cooperation with others. But it cannot be so that somebody decides for union members or against their will. The most proper is here the principle of the majority of votes and when some decision is being made in this manner, it should be binding to all union members.

Kazimierz Maras--plater of the Szczecin A. Warski Shipyard:

I do connect the notion of self-government in the trade unions with the notion of democracy and democratic methods of action. From the union link in the workplace up to the very top. And what kind of "top" should this be? It should be elected. First elections should take place for union offices in workplaces, and then for higher offices. Under present conditions self-governing trade unions should strive for the quickest way out of the crisis and for this purpose it is necessary to cooperate with the government and administration. In a workplace the union should be at present a partner with such links as management, party and youth organizations. Likewise on the way out of the crisis a self-governing union must fulfill control functions in relation to the administration. The point is that the union should have an influence

on a quicker recovery from the crisis. There should also be established strict union discipline. Higher offices should not have the right to make essential decisions without consultation with the mass of members. With any actions to be undertaken, higher organs should first approach the workforces and to make decisions in accordance with their will. All important decisions should first be submitted to consultation and not be approved on the basis of some informal debate.

Jozef Kogucik--tube fitter of "A," Warski Shipyard:

In my opinion self-government of a trade union does not exclude cooperation with other social and political organizations. There should be a cooperation with the party. Likewise with administration of the plants. I consider that at present in order to improve the economy such cooperation is indispensable. This does not mean, however, that in their inner management the unions should be dependent on anyone.

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Editorial Report by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz

Text From the content of this probe one thing reveals itself: a distrust of any union authorities. Those interviewed suggest all kinds of controls that would prevent the elected authorities from manipulating the "masses," adopting resolutions "in their name," nobody knows under whose influence.

Thus self-government is being understood here as a form of governing oneself in one's occupational organization by the membership masses under the greatest possible limitation of the executive authority of the "top."

One can understand the reasons of this distrust. It did happen before that elected representatives permitted themselves to be drawn with the union into politics, which they themselves not quite understood, let alone its members.

The people do not want to be blind tools--they want to have a strong representation of their current interests in these difficult times when acquiring shoes has become the number one problem and going to movies is an expensive, almost inaccessible luxurious recreation.

This bitterness however entails a certain danger which it is worthwhile to think about at present. How we are to construct in practice this control by representative bodies so as not to deprive them of effectiveness, possibility of a quick response, authority for negotiating and finally to settle disputes by compromise, which is obligatory to the whole union. One would say that these questions must be answered in practice, by life itself. I do not think it is only so. The answer should be formulated by people having recourse not only to theory of management to ensure effective functioning of the organization but, chiefly, to serve its aims.

The aim of the existence of the union movement is after all to assure the needs of its members. Self-government is also within the scope of the structure of this movement which must render possible to the masses to govern their unions.

Meaning of 'New' Unions

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 6 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

Article by Ryszard Maleszkiewicz, in cooperation with: M. Truszkowski, P. Rejer, W. Jurczak, and J. Handerek

Text We continue to receive opinions on the subject of fundamental notions concerning the union movement: its independence and self-government. As in previous ones, also in the utterances presented one can see many divergences. Nevertheless, the predominant general opinion is that the unions cannot be controlled from the outside by anyone. Workers and their interests should constitute their basic core. Interests of the masses and of the workforce must be primarily represented and not "directed."

✓ Waclaw Kufel--fitter in the WSK Transportation Equipment Plant, Krakow:

In my plant, "Solidarity" was working well. I suppose because in our factory union authorities there happened to be men who understood what a trade union should be. We had no "Solidarity-promoted" strikes. We did not especially take to heart the appeals to organize demonstrations that had nothing in common with the interests of the workforce. I know, however, that in other enterprises it was different. My colleagues employed outside the WSK asserted that in the course of time, in "Solidarity," they could not settle any of their problems, because the union was busy with everything but not the problems related to workers.

In my opinion, the new unions should function in the workplace, involving the whole workforce in the area, regardless of whether one is an engineer, worker, clerk, or constructor. After all, matters involving the workforce are common, and if one would form separate, branch unions for each group, it would soon result in disagreements, struggle for influence, settlement of affairs of that part of the workforce which belongs to some sort of union, and that would have to be done at the expense of some other group. The stronger one would have a better chance of success. After all, this is not the thing we would like to have today.

Jerzy Rosiak--carter in finishing department of the J. Marchlewski Cotton Industry Plants POLTEX in Lodz, member of the ZSMP Union of Socialist Polish Youth:

Union self-government should, in my opinion, consist in that the unions in an establishment would not be dependent on anyone, so that no one would have to say to them anything from the top: neither management, nor any other organization--these may have only an advisory voice. Especially no cell should be introduced into worker affairs. Naturally, this does not exclude cooperation

or joint action with some other organization, and even in my opinion such cooperation is necessary: with the Party organization, youth union, and social cells. But on equal partnership rights, without any systems of the nature of command. Such self-governing unions must nonetheless be controlled. There should be a cell to control the whole, so that there would be no repetition of such a situation as in the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions]. In the workplace there should be an audit committee, and higher up a control agent either under voivodships or under the minister for matters related to trade unions. Such control should pertain only to financial matters and assets--for all other matters will be controlled by the aggregate of union members, or in case of transgression of law by the corresponding courts.

The union in a workplace should be managed by a body elected by the aggregate of workers, members of the union. That cannot be a single person but several. In this body may be also represented other organizations, such as the Party, and ZSMP. The union is to be for worker-related matters, but its membership does not exclude membership in a political organization. Such a collective body should control unions, and its opinion would be binding. In important matters concerning the entire workforce, or one department, these decisions should be submitted to consultation with the aggregate of members. In case it would be difficult to call them together, one should at least convene its major, representative part. Such a union should not be intended to govern masses through the "top" but it should be a union of workers that belong to it. These always form a majority of its members and their voice should be of the highest importance.

Renata Gebicka--machine adjuster in the J. Marchlewski Cotton Industry Plants POLTEX in Lodz, member of the ZSMP:

In my opinion, union self-government should manifest itself by decisionmaking and its independence of other sociopolitical organizations, especially from the PZPR. After all, there cannot be a "manual control," and a real opinion of the commonality should be reckoned. This does not automatically exclude cooperation and joint action with other organizations, and this cooperation should take place as often as possible for the common good of workers. After all one can always arrive at a compromise. The control of the union: as much as possible. But by its people, representatives of higher levels. On the other hand, the "government" of the union should be assumed by the workers, through their own people, elected at a conference. I emphasize--workers, and no other is from the outside, or "advisors." The union authorities must in this system obey the membership, or the commons, and all actions be taken only in accordance with their will, instead of pressing them authoritatively at their own sweet will. For not infrequently someone is using a mandate in "someone's name," and those "governed" do not even know about any such decisions.

Stanislaw Kwasniewski--electrician PKP [Polish State Railroads] Engine House, Poznan-Franowo; member of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth]:

A single, universal trade union must unavoidably transform itself into a political force--that was proved by the history of the last two years. In

order that a trade union represent solely occupational interests of the people it should be a union assembling solely the specialists of a certain branch. In other words, there cannot be a union to which belong persons having different or absolutely opposite interests. All this looks simple, but unfortunately only in speeches, on paper. I, for example, can hardly imagine that in a single workplace there could function separate unions of metallurgists, another for turners, others for administration workers, transport, supply services, and so on. No, I cannot imagine such a union Tower of Babel. What then? Surely, most sensible would be to form only one trade union in each workplace, regardless of the existing there occupational differences, but for the sake of the workforce.

Kazimierz Maras--plater of the Szczecin A. Warski Shipyard:

In my opinion, future unions should be divided in accordance with occupational branches. For only such a division would guarantee the interests of the working people. The things that matter are the problems of wages and social problems in individual workplaces and not in departmental branches. Regional divisions did not prove right, nor did "departmental" divisions of such unions as existed before August 1980.

The trade union cell in a workplace should promptly receive authorization for handling various funds and social entitlements. That would be the beginning, and later would come the time for other, more important problems connected with the settlement of our affairs.

Mieczyslaw Budys--electrician in W3 Szczecin A. Warski Shipyard:

I am for a division into occupational groups and for completely new organization of union structures. One should begin from the simplest solutions. For only they can guarantee self-government and independence of unions. In a professional union, in a workplace, a place must nonetheless be kept open for workers of the factory technical offices and services. However, representatives of managements of establishments cannot be members of the same union. This would go against the purpose and tasks of the union. We should prepare well these structures that will be verified in life. One thing is already certain: new unions cannot have anything in common with the unions which we had before August or with those after August. Things that were good in their activity may be utilized but they should be adapted to present life. I have in mind branch unions before August. It cannot be denied that some of their assumptions were right. I would not attach much importance to names of future unions.

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Editorial Note

How to avoid a repetition of the past? How to avoid the recurrence of puppetized, window-dressing unions from before August? How to avoid also the multiprofessional political machine into which Solidarity was gradually changing?

One of the proposals, of which speak some of our respondents, are branch unions. They argue objectively, soberly, why in this system precisely they see organizational directions of the future unions.

The people see clearly that individual work-related interests only a union of these people will be able to understand best and articulate; that is, a union formed due to concurrent interests, resulting from work and not from political, superior, or general aims.

On the other hand we apprehend the repetition of a lesson from recent history. We are afraid of some union on top, afraid of uniformity, unity. We are rendered sensitive to all this: too many times this uniformity spoke in our name, against our individual interests. Many times we did not understand aims of the "top," many times people elected by us moved away from us, became different.

It is difficult to offer any prescriptions. Nevertheless, since old practices do not verify themselves, one of the means to reform them is to introduce some different solutions. One of these new solutions is a proposal to create branch unions, such as they are understood by our respondents. Will it be efficacious? Will it prevent us from a repetition of the errors that we know too well? Will it assure unions against manipulation, window-dressing, whitewash in relations with authorities? I do not know, the answer will be given by practice, which is being created by the people.

Concluding Commentary

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 7 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

By Ryszard Maleszkiewicz

Text Within the scope of our discussion about a new formula for trade unions we published three editorial probes in which we have asked basic questions of young workers, members of the ZSMP Union of Socialist Polish Youth: Meaning of "independent" (on 29 Sep), "self-governing" (on 4 Oct), and finally: Meaning of "new" unions (on 6 Oct).

The opinions and definitions received in the answers were at times contradictory. One thing, however, was showing through them--a fear of manipulation and dependence of workers organization on anyone from the outside. More daring respondents were adding shyly--also from the PZPR.

This fear was showing also in the case of the notion of "self-government." The majority desired that their union would not be controlled by anyone even in financial matters, and would preserve its self-government in all fields of activity and management.

Finally, the third characteristic trait showing through almost all the statements--there were as many as 22 participants, which, for a press probe, was a pretty good result--is a fear of authority and distrust of it.

I am writing about authority, although the respondents spoke mostly of union authorities, sometimes stating only that unions must be especially independent of authorities in general, and especially self-governing in relation to authorities...

This distrust symbolizes the general mood of society, and it is not to be wondered at it. The period of the last twelve years brought about a crisis of confidence in any authority. The promises and abuses of the Gierek team, ending in total economic and political collapse, as well as the later willful activities of the "Solidarity" propaganda, exploiting real and fictitious faults, had undermined the confidence and authority of government.

The present time also does not raise one's spirits. The torpor of administration and in many cases its inefficiency, which is confirmed by the results of military controls, reinforce the conviction that the process of recovery of confidence and authority will be long and strenuous.

On the other hand, also in the same period, was taking place a decrease of trust in the value of our own union authorities.

The pre-August period proved that a trade union meant actually only its apparatus, and that elected authorities had not much to say. And in the reformed unions, especially in "Solidarity," similar processes began promptly to occur anew, insofar as they mostly did not reach factory levels, which were not subject to bureaucracy. On the other hand, in the regions, and in the National Committee, the apparatus had acquired such a crushing influence that it could at will manipulate elected bodies. There were effected ingenious cadre changes, whose promptness and frequency rendered impossible practical control of the top by the lower levels.

Finally, facts and documents revealed after 13 December have thwarted the people for good. They undermined trust not so much in the idea of self-governing and independent unions as such, as in structural solutions and in men.

Hence—I think—that great fear of submitting to being "governed," hence— inventing all possible sorts of means insuring against being manipulated. Hence, finally, reluctance to submit to any persuasions from the "top," a reluctance which today has such unfavorable repercussion in our social life.

What sort then, are—as a result of our great probe—the new trade unions to be?

They must be, in the first place, independent of outside influence, of management of enterprises and institutions, of social organizations, and of the party. However, they must be independent within the framework of the Polish constitutional system, and they cannot engage in politics, which was stressed by almost all respondents.

They should govern themselves and that from the bottom. Although no concrete proposals--except cliches--were offered, the statements of respondents reveal a desire for a very strict control of the "top" by the rank-and-file membership. The necessity of cooperation with other organizations, with the party, with administration of all levels, is emphasized, but without infringement of the sacred principles of self-government and independence. Resistance also is being felt to any executive actions of the representative union organs. They should represent the interests of the membership--they are not allowed to govern it.

The respondents--all of them--are in favor of the multiplicity of trade unions in Poland, and on the other hand, the majority is in favor of a single union in the area of a plant.

Fears are also being expressed about a later uniting of all unions into some single central union. Fears of "coming to an agreement" by chiefs, which would permit manipulation and control of the member masses. The necessity is emphasized of organizing unions on a trade basis and not on a department basis, as before August, and in large measure after August in the so-called trade movement. It is asserted that the strongest and most natural bonds between men result from common work and common needs which it creates, as well as from common methods for their satisfaction.

Based on the opinions expressed, I will risk to assert that after 13 December 1981 there occurred great changes in the thinking of young workers. The lasting effects of shock, frustration, exposure of one's own objectivity that served others to realize concealed aims, has brought about a change in human attitudes, but it also brought about increased distrust of the union movement in general.

There is no doubt that the new union movement is to begin under very difficult social conditions. Breaking through the barrier of dislike and mistrust, pulling men away from the "front of renewal," that, for example, our reporters encountered in the POLAR [extension unknown] of Wroclaw, will be a thankless task.

Much will depend here on the attitude of the authorities and party. Will they help or will they wish to control? And whether, even in individual cases, in actions and decisions, there will prevail a social interest perspective that demands prompt reconstruction of the movement, or a desire to take one's revenge, to label people, or simply a fear after all?

I cannot answer these questions, but I have my misgivings that the bureaucracy which got used to governing under martial law will do much to "break" the new movement at once and for all. To be sure, it will do it doubtless as effectively as it does at present in blocking and delaying the formation of self-government in many enterprises.

However, the starting of unions is indispensable in the first place from the viewpoint of a common interest. Their statutory activity will contribute most promptly to the achievement of the "normality" of our life. It will contribute to a suspension and at last the abolition of the martial law.

For this reason, the question, "What sort of unions?" will still be the problem of the day for a long time.

SCOUT UNION COMMANDER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12-14 Nov 82 p 6

[Interview with Ryszard Wosinski, commander of the Polish Scout Union, by Magda Rulska: "We Frankly Make Our Demands"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Magda Rulska: What, to you, is scouting?

[Answer] Ryszard Wosinski: It is, first of all, an idea, a way of conducting oneself and a pro-social behavior, and overall, it is an outlook on life. Second, it is a system of upbringing, i.e., that which ensues from expedient upbringing activity. Scouting is also a social movement. That which distinguishes us from other organizations is the idea, the specific ethics of "being a Scout", the upbringing method.

[Question] Who, in that case, is the instructor?

[Answer] The educator. This means, among other things, that in his everyday behavior he should be evidence of fidelity to the principles, goals and ideals which he demands of those who are in his care. We refer simply to a conformity between the declared truths and the attitude.

[Question] This is natural, is it not?

[Answer] Yes, but we are the only organization that has made this kind of conduct an integral part of the program, and furthermore, we have advanced it to the forefront. In addition, we recognize that the scout instructor must have a great deal of formal knowledge in order to properly function in the organization. He must also be a social worker, in the full and positive meaning of this term, for this is the basic condition for upbringing effectiveness.

[Question] How, in that case, do you see the role of a 16-year-old, who is also, after all, an instructor? Is there no contradiction in the fact that on the one hand we want there to be as many such young people as possible, and on the other hand they themselves will require care, assistance, and upbringing influence?

[Answer] We have learned not to divide instructors into teachers-nonteachers, old and young, etc. I oppose, and will continue to oppose, such thinking in the organization. The only division is the division into good and bad instructors. All these sociological or parasociological differentiations polarize the community, and cause illwill and a bad atmosphere.

[Question] Well then--a 16-year-old educator?

[Answer] I agree that this may sound strange, but after all, all of scouting is so constructed that the older person teaches the younger one, that the instructor-student has an opportunity to solve many problems more effectively than someone from the outside, an adult. First, because he knows his fellow-scouts, and second because he must study many problems, simply because he himself is currently experiencing them. In such groups not only arrangements reminiscent of a guardian-ward relationship are being formed, but also those typical for a peer group, on the "you want a fat lip?" principle. The troop accepts someone like this not as an educator, but as a buddy, a good comrade, a leader. This is important and... effective.

[Question] I understand. However, I ask myself what has the Union done, what do you plan to do to finally change the status of these young people. At the moment they have, I am sure you will agree, no status.

[Answer] That is a very difficult matter. To put it into order will require "pushing" a civil law, and furthermore, the matter extends to the basic legal documents of our state. Under Polish regulations, a 16-year-old is simply not a full citizen. The executors only intensify this state. It can be said that it is totally stagnant.

[Question] Does this absolve the new commander, the Union?

[Answer] Absolutely not. We are conducting talks with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing on the subject of the student-educator role, and we are, I think, on a good road. In any case, this is a problem not just of the instructors.

We are concerned with gaining the proper place in the school for all students who are of age. Too often the educators even refuse 18-year-old instructors the right to work independently. This is a complicated question, for it is not so much the official barrier that has to be overcome as the psychological barrier. What? A student as a member of the educator team, or the pedagogical council? This is outrageous!

Most educational regulations also forbid an instructor-student, even one of full age, to work outside the school. Those are matters which must be solved and we will fight for this consistently.

[Question] A great deal has been said recently about the older scouts. How do you treat this part of the organization? What can scouting today propose, or "give" to the youth?

[Answer] You see, without them, without the "older" ones, scouting would be incomplete, it would be crippled. If the matter is put in this way, there can be no fear that a certain important age group is slipping away from us. It is simply that the ideal is a certain continuity, an alternation of roles. The older scouts have an opportunity to become good instructors. Instructors who have "lived through" their scouting, can be relied on, and who have a feeling for our cause, our style.

But we see this part of the organization not just in cadre, or cadre-producing, terms. I will use an ugly term--only in the case of 16-18-year-old people can we speak about a "final product". Whether or not our method of exerting influence has proved itself will be determined by whether the scout has chosen those values which we suggested to him as being important and good. But that is rather our "adult-instructor" viewpoint.

[Question] So what are you offering them?

[Answer] A program of scouting service. The organization has always served society, the state, other people. And now we want to show that it is worth being useful and needed.

[Question] It is hard to believe that today a program like that would be greeted by the youth with enthusiasm.

[Answer] From my observations it appears that this proposition is being accepted with great frankness. Perhaps, however, with less awareness of the depth of what we are talking about. Service is understood most frequently to be simply work in behalf of the immediate surrounding, it is still constantly so very small... But we are patient. Civic, pro-social attitudes should develop slowly, tactfully. They cannot be decreed.

[Question] What does the specific nature of the work with older scouts consist of?

[Answer] We give them an opportunity to prove themselves, to prove their own abilities and skills. Prove themselves, but with the awareness of transforming themselves, of improving themselves, self-educating themselves. This is an inseparable part of our method. We do not resort in this case to systematic camouflage. We state our demands and expectations frankly and simply demand that they be dealt with. This is called working on oneself. And this is what the youth are accepting.

I will not talk to you about camps, bivouacs, scouting culture and traditions, because this is obvious and in a certain sense secondary. Anyway, we are emerging from the period of total enchantment with woodland scouting--the fad for scout primitivism is passing. This is natural. Youth has begun again to seek something more, really something much more. That is why we are helping the scouts from the high schools to develop their technical and cultural hobbies, and their social and political interests. We are constantly seeking and trying to create new forms.

[Question] Are you not afraid that you will be accused that this enhanced scouting will lose its specificity? After all, the adult society sees in a scout only someone who helps the elderly in the winter, and who entertains the village children in the summer. During the school breaks he goes camping and bivouacking. In time of need he grabs a weapon.

[Answer] Are you saying that scouting is regarded to be a non-intellectual organization, whose activities are based on simple emotions? Yes, our method is based on emotions, but there has always been place in scouting for thought and reflection.

By the way, scouting is a movement so old and complex that almost any thesis can be illustrated by making use of its history.

Anyway, scouting is now quite varied. There are troops that like to play military games, there are those to whom only songs are important, and there are communication troops, etc. Could I, on this basis, say what is and what is not scouting? No.

[Question] That means that you do not plan to make everything the same, i.e., equal?

[Answer] Of this type, no. However, scouting ideology should be common to all troops. Without it there can be no talk about our identity. The basis of this ideology is duty and loyalty to the scouting ideals, self-improvement.

[Question] What do you think--what events, decisions, or actions from the recent period will remain as a new standard for the future, will become part of the rich tradition?

[Answer] I do not like to play prophet. Anyway, in upbringing, results are not apparent until after many years have passed. I can only assume that "what will remain" will be that which is the resultant of the scouts' anticipations and the instructors' intents. That which is important to them and to us.

[Question] And do you not see a new, important quality in the fact that during the Congress the older scouts determined themselves, that they themselves determined the principles on which they will remain in the Union, that they formed their own structure, and said in their own way what is and what is not scouting?

[Answer] You see, I look at this calmly, without emotion. Calmly, because as a matter of fact, there is nothing new in this explosion. It is true that previously there were no councils made up of older scouts, but those who functioned were always chosen and the representatives of troops from the high schools always had the right to a vote. The participation of the adult, appointed educator was very slight. Thus the mechanism has not basically changed. However, the appearance of councils of older scouts as advisory organs for statutory bodies is really something new. Is it permanent? Time will tell.

[Question] Are you pleased with their self-reliance?

[Answer] We do not want to transfer all of the responsibility to them. We do not want them to be so self-reliant that they not disturb us at all. That is not what is important. We must seek a prudent compromise. And in this Congress explosion there was the tendency: "We don't want to have anything to do with these older ones". At that time it was most wise not to interfere, for any attempts made then would have been interpreted as manipulation, the stifling of self-reliance and democratic endeavors. Today this is changing. They themselves are catching on now that we should work together and not against one another. But aren't you interested in what we, the Union authorities, expected of them?

[Question] Of course.

[Answer] We wanted to learn more about the scout youth, what they want, what they see scouting to be, how they regard their membership in the organization, how they want to work, and in what forms. We wanted them to be active. Instead of activity,

there was a howl. And loud does not mean effective, even in opinion-forming terms. We were waiting for mature, weighed, synthesizing assessments. And we are still waiting for them.

Let us not forget that the councils, aside from the fact that they are representative bodies, expressing the opinions of this community, are also a school for democracy, for expressing oneself, for the shaping of viewpoints. This function in the first phase was not very perceptible. The development of a representative system is a problem also because the Union was not structurally adapted to this. And so two large groups collide--the instructor cadre and the older youth. A wise compromise must be made here. We cannot allow a situation to occur where one group tries to outvie the other by matching its achievements. Each must have its place in the Union--its own role. We cannot say that the older scout and the instructor are absolutely equal. That would be a mistake.

[Question] I asked at the beginning, what, for you, is scouting. Tell me now what it should be, what should be "done" to it to satisfy the needs of the children and youth, and at the same time serve the State and give it good, productive citizens?

[Answer] I think that we must take out of the scouting history all that is valuable and useful for the present. We must synthesize the experience and apply it to the State and social activities, to enhance them.

[Question] Will this be enough?

[Answer] I am apprehensive when I observe that economic activities are being conducted more energetically, while the moral crisis is considerably more dangerous. We will have to work for years to make up what has been lost. Attention was also called to this fact during the deliberations of the PZPR Central Committee's Ninth Plenum.

This plenum was an attempt to solve the matters of the young in a systems-type, institutional way, and not just by occasional, emergency measures. The youth are finally being treated in an objective way. The method for implementing the plenary decisions, as specified in the resolution, is based on a principle that is different from that of past years: do not give, but work jointly. Such reasoning is very familiar to us who are in scouting. Today we must point out clear and precise goals for the youth, and jointly with them undertake the activities aimed at achieving these goals.

We have said so much, for example, about the older scouts. After all, they, too, expect that we will help them discover a purpose, a sense, that we will help them understand what will come later in their already adult life. They want to fight, but they want to fight for something, for some specific goals...

[Question] Do we give them an idea, or an enemy?

[Answer] The giving of an idea is more humanistic. The giving of an enemy is often more practical and more effective. During the "teen" years, ideals are closer; however, the enemy theory really consolidates and mobilizes. But this is not a scouting theory.

AIR DEFENSE IN FUTURE WAR DISCUSSED

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish
No 9, Sep 82 pp 5-12

[Article by Col (Docent, Dr. Habilitatus) Jozef Smoter: "Operation of National Air Defense Forces in a Possible War"]

[Text] Until the end of the century, national air defense forces will continue to be the branch of the armed forces that has been designated for air defense of the national territory against enemy reconnaissance and air attack. This mission will not change in a possible future war regardless of the nature of that war, only the manner in which this mission is accomplished may change.

Efficiency of operation of air defense forces, especially an effective repulse of a first massive raid by air assault weapons will determine further possibilities of the subsequent potential of a state (or a coalition of states) to continue military activities, including: entry of land, air and naval forces into an outer combat front; crossing of the national territory by operational and strategic reserve forces; (domestic and allied) maintenance of uninterrupted supply to the troops operating in the outer and inner front and possibilities for efficient functioning of the systems by which the state and its national economy are managed.

Combat activity of air defense forces in a possible future war will also be contingent on the nature of the means of enemy attack, their operational tactics, the defense forces combat means and their tactical applications, during combat. It will also depend on the nature of a future war. This sequence will be followed in presenting issues that pertain to a general characterization of air defense forces in a possible future war.

Probable Developments in Air Attack Means

It should be believed that in the nearest decade and a half and after the year 2000 those states that conduct aggressive policies will consistently perfect existing air attack means and will strive to build new combat chage carriers to designated targets. These means will be marked by substantial immunity to the operation of electro-magnetic waves, preventing their detection by radar

reconnaissance systems, and by their ability to attack from very low altitudes, by variable flight speed and by horizontal and vertical flight path changes.

Apparently as early as in the next 15 years, and certainly by the year 2000, the air attack arsenal will include spacecraft equipped with laser weapons capable of destroying space, air and ground targets. This new variety of space attack means equipped with an advanced, effective striking device will definitely cause quantitative and qualitative changes in conventional air attack means, though rather than eliminating them completely, it will reduce their share in enemy targets for destruction. It can be concluded, therefore, that effective penetration of air attack means to designated targets for destruction will increase with each passing day.

Air attack means to be made part of standard equipment in the next 15 years will, for the most part, be assured of subsonic velocities. Their bulk will be deployed on the European continent. Rocket carrier aircraft will be on duty in the air (in various regions) continually changing their positions away from the enemy at distances permitting them to strike at targets located on the entire area encompassed by military operations.

The variety of air offense means and their number and deployment indicate that air raids can be expected at various intensities from different air-operational directions. That is to say, it will be impossible (prior to the onset of an air raid) to determine its chief direction (if there is one), thereby to concentrate the bulk of OPK (national air defense forces) beforehand to cover a specified air-operational direction allowing access to installations located on the national territory. For these reasons it is necessary to organize zonal defense and to equip the national air defense forces with more easily maneuver means for combatting air targets.

Flight velocity ranges of individual varieties of air attack permit simultaneous takeoff within a relatively short duration of a sortie and delivery of a strike, within 1 to 2 hours. During that time all air attack means can execute their first decisive strike if they take advantage of the element of surprise.

There are grounds to assume that the means of a first air attack possibly striking at targets within a country will be rocket missiles of various types, fired from stationary and mobile launching pads (on aircraft or sea vessels). These should be expected to be followed by an attack by air-to-surface missiles, unmanned aircraft and, finally, by strike aircraft.

Offensive aircraft flights will probably proceed at varying altitudes, changing course and altitude profiles under fairly strong electronic and electromagnetic storm conditions, which will substantially facilitate their reaching specified strike targets.

Many air offense devices, due to electromagnetic wave-absorbing materials used in the latter's construction are unlikely to detect radioelectronic detection systems. Their detection will only be possible by visual observation posts.

Anticipated Air Defense Development

The development, organizational structure and basic equipment of air defense forces are unlikely to undergo major changes by the year 2000. For the most part, such changes may involve their becoming equipped with new types of fighter aircraft, antiaircraft missile assemblies and radio and radar tracing stations. Defenses of protected targets will be improved. New combat devices included in standard weapons lists of air defense forces are likely to increase the effectiveness of combatting air-attack weapons. It can also be assumed that certain versions of fighter aircraft will be retained. Totally new types of fighter airplanes, suited for shortened--500 meters to 700 meters--takeoff and landing runways, can be expected only after the year 2000. Aircraft structures will be considerably lighter than the present ones. Aircraft will be marked by substantial velocity ranges and by propulsion by new types of fuel, several times reduced in volume and mass in comparison to present fuels. Fighter aircraft will be, as a rule, unmanned, armed with long-range missiles, self-guiding to air targets regardless of the aircraft's position with regard to the target. Fighter planes will be equipped with instruments enabling them to determine state affiliation of the air target to be attacked. Similar devices will be installed to guided air-defense missiles and air-to-air missiles.

Fighter aircraft will be commanded from mobile command posts, deployed at different locations in the vicinity of base airfields. Modern air-defense fighter aircraft will continue to have as its basic combat targets the aircraft of strategic, tactical and deck aviation as well as other aircraft that can be successfully combatted because of their flight velocity and altitude parameters. It appears that because of the participation of fighter aircraft in antiair operations, enemy ground installations can become its additional targets: airfields and aircraft parked on them, radio detection posts, missile launchers and command system posts. At the same time, fighter aircraft can accomplish missions in providing cover to their own airstrike force within its own radius of combat action and, at times, utilizing their full range including landing on allied countries' airfields.

Developments in fighter aircraft operations will be mainly conditioned by the craft available, its combat capacities and the potential of those means that cover their operations. That is to say, after the year 2000, fighter aircraft's primary objective will continue to be to defend targets at the furthest possible distances, to defend against piloted aircraft used in air attacks, and in particular to defend reconnaissance and command planes and long-range missile carriers.

Therefore, the main task for airforce fighters in the system of air defense forces will be to defend the approaches to the borders of the region to be defended and to combat the enemy means of air attack inside the territory. This task will be achieved in cooperation with the other means of air defense against reconnaissance and air attack.

Because of the increased combat capabilities of new types of fighter planes, air battlefield tactics will be reevaluated. There will be an increase in

air flights carried out at midranges (from 20 to 50 km) with air targets being attacked from various directions, including the frontal hemisphere. In the long run, due to development of onboard radio-location devices and due to increased air-to-air missile ranges, flights carried out at long distances--range 70-120 km--will be possible with the capability of attacking air targets from various directions and altitudes, under various atmospheric conditions, during any time, day or night, and during strong radioelectronic disturbances.

In the next 15 years, as well as after the year 2,000 missile air defense forces will be used as a basic weapon to fight air targets, but they will certainly undergo substantial changes in armament. Today's missile assemblies will be replaced by new ones that are compact, very maneuverable, with very fast launch readiness from launcher stations not requiring engineering back-ups; they will be mounted on vehicles. New missile assemblies will have a much greater number of antiaircraft missiles. They will be equipped with new engines and high-efficiency fuel. This will decrease considerably the size of new missiles. The equipment allowing our own aircraft to be identified will provide security to our aircraft fighters and will simplify the conditions of cooperation.

Simplified construction of missile assemblies, more effective action of antiaircraft guided missiles and smaller crews will allow maneuverable missile forces groups to be established to defend the targets as well as to defend the directions of air operations. Elimination of stationary launching stations will progressively take place as current missile assemblies wear out. Of established arrangements of air defense missile forces only group covered stations will remain stationary. They will be basically different, however, from existing ones.

Each subunit of air defense missile forces, in the framework of battle groupings, will have 4-5 launching positions. It is reasonable to think that the frequency of changes in launching positions will depend on the number of subunits in the unit or tactical union of missile forces performing a specific assignment. It is thought possible that within 24 subunits of missile forces will change position at least twice. Launching stations will be at such distances from each other that maximum fire range will not change, because of established conditions of cooperation with air force fighters; the maximum distance should provide in each instance for effective defense of specific sites.

The organization will be followed by changes in the tactics of air defense missile forces. There will be a transition from site defense, in addition to maintaining the capability of attacking enemy air targets as far as possible from the country's own air borders; during battle forces maneuverability, weapons and fire will have increased significance. Control over the battlefield actions of the air defense missile forces will be fully automated.

Radio Engineering Forces in Air Defense

Now and in the future will responsible for air reconnaissance and for defending the active means of air defense forces. It is also possible that

later on those forces will be equipped with new detection stations (radio location equipment, television, heat detection devices etc.) mounted on a cross-country vehicle (helicopter or other aircraft) and will be manned with few crews. Existing stationary radio location stations will be systematically replaced by mobile stations. New positions of air-targets detective stations will not require prior engineering preparations but only topographical adaptations. Each station will have a few equally operational positions. The time needed to set up and take over the station will be just a few minutes. The new air-target defense station will be less vulnerable to destruction, since establishing their location will be more difficult because of frequent changes in position. Therefore, the early flight programming of self-adjusting missiles will be impossible. To attack these stations, the enemy air force will be required to first detect, get a fix, and only then strike.

The process of receiving, processing and transmitting information will be automated. All command posts and stations for Radio engineering forces will be equipped with such systems. Development of mobile detection stations will allow a defense network of stations to be organized. This will greatly increase the ability to detect, and attack over the whole air territory of the country and will provide full protection of the active means of the air defense forces (OP).

The formation of the mobile air detection system in OP forces will influence changes in the command system of radio engineering forces. Smaller, more efficient centers will be formed. They will not be necessarily linked to local airforce fighters, missile forces or other OP forces command centers, located the time on country territory. Communication with higher command posts will be based exclusively on radio communications.

The future air detection system, after fundamental reconstruction, will be more flexible and maneuverable; this will assure faster incorporation with the all-army air defense.

Development of the OP radio engineering forces tactics in the near future will be easily in the area of conduct of radio location detection under conditions of intensive radio electronic static, and detection and tracing of air targets characterized by small reflection areas. This will have to be performed at very low and stratospheric altitudes.

In the long run, radio engineering forces tactics-development will be mainly in principles governing the usage of new detection systems during battle, in increasing the life and reliability of the detection system, in decreasing late reception time, the transmission time and the time for analyzing the air situation as well as insuring the probability of homing guidance of fighter planes and increasing the aiming capability of OP missile assemblies against air targets under various air conditions.

The role of radioelectronic warfare will increase. However, it will not be the domain of special radio engineering forces exclusively. Other kinds of OP forces will have an active part in it as well.

Basic changes will take place in the command structure of OP forces. Automation of the command of OP forces and means will allow for centralized decisionmaking concerning the use and cooperation of missile forces with air force fighters and with other kinds of forces, on both an operational and tactical level, i.e. tactical union of OP forces.

Therefore, one may say in general, that from 1985-2000 there will be insignificant changes in OP force tactics. This can be foreseen based on the changes that have been planned (in various countries) in equipping OP forces with new kinds of weapons. In this period the development of general OP force tactics the issues regarding integrated utilization of various OP forces and weapons will have increased importance.

In the near future the function of national air defense systems in the OP coalition system will increase. In addition to air defense, the system will also link countermissile and antispacecraft defense systems. Therefore the OP coalition system will have a decisive role in defending sites located on territories belonging to coalition participants, against enemy missile and space strikes. Besides the means of air defense, OP forces may also include other means of countermissile and antispacecraft defense.

Engagement of OP Forces in Case of Nuclear War

A surprise attack with a massive strike of the most powerful offensive weapons is rather improbable. The lesser probability of a war beginning in such a way results from inevitable retaliation with nuclear missile forces belonging to the major power that is attacked. The mighty force of such an attack and retaliation, as well as the predictable effects, gives such action the disaster of "collective suicide." Nevertheless, the possibility of a war beginning in such a fashion cannot be disregarded, since the likelihood of such action may be most probable during times of technological and organizational advantage by the aggressor country. This will increase the chance of surprise attack and will, therefore, considerably decrease the forces of retaliation.

In case of nuclear war, the country will be subjected to unusually destructive strikes. Within the framework of an offensive air operation, one would think that the enemy, using all available battle charge carriers, would attack most forcefully first the opponents' means of air attack, air defense sites and energy and transportation networks. Thus one can expect simultaneous assault by missiles, air-to-surface missiles, unmanned aircraft, strike aircraft and by laser weapons mounted on satellites in space.

In such situations, a future fight with the aggressor's air assault weapons will be extremely complicated. It will be carried out by joint OP forces and the air defense forces of the remaining armed forces, and also by designated striking air force, missile forces and artillery acting in antiaircraft operations. In resisting the first massive assault by the aggressor, it appears that warfare will be organized, centrally commanded, and the results may be satisfactory in terms of the number of destroyed enemy air targets and air force ground devices. Additional OP force actions will be less centrally

commanded. The effectiveness of the remaining forces will most likely decrease, since most of its potential will be used to eliminate the effects of strikes by the weapons of mass destruction. At that time separate air defense centers may be established to carry out the tests in conjunction with surviving forces and sites. Tactical unions of OP forces, and in particular their command centers will be most essential on this period of executing the tasks.

After the first massive strike by weapons of mass destruction, the enemy will attempt to destroy remaining sites, in particular military sites as well as the forces themselves--mainly operational forces in order to make counter-aggressive actions impossible. In this stage of war, the main effort of OP forces will be to defend operational forces. It is likely, that air defense will take the form of site defense, executed by combined forces made of all kinds of national OP forces and antiaircraft defense forces (OPL) commanded by the remaining OP command system centers. Battle actions in this phase of the war will be more difficult because of a lack of cooperation between specific air defense stations. Certainly serious difficulties in war supplies will decrease the effectiveness of air force fighters and OP missile forces in particular. OP may include, besides air defense, antimissile and antispace defenses.

Nuclear war could start also as a consequence of conventional war. Use of weapons of mass destruction could be sporadic at the beginning and could escalate later to full scale use. In such a situation military actions will be carried out at the beginning in a manner similar to those of a conventional war.

Regardless of the initial character of nuclear war, one can anticipate that it will develop as a much larger territory than currently postulated. Rear borders of a front (or fronts) may shift considerably within a country, or may be even eliminated. Guerrilla groups and partisans supported by enemy air assault may act within the territory of a country.

Guerrillas will be combatted by civil defense methods as well as by operational forces. Other OP forces besides air defense, could also be used in an all-army battle and could support civil defense forces and operational forces; therefore, air defense will have an all-army character. This will require the unification of individual armed forces air defense systems (land forces and navy)--our own and allied--with the OP system. The OP system will have the role of integrating and leading the established all-army air defense system.

The established all-army air defense systems, described above, will result in the unification of army equipment, in particular in antiaircraft missile assemblies, in air detection stations, and on force command automatic devices assuring guidance of air force fighters on air targets.

Conclusions:

1. The projected development of the political and military situation shows that the function of OP forces in the defense system of a country or coalition

of countries will systematically grow. This will cause the existing opinions regarding strategy used by OP forces to be reevaluated. This will become evident in the necessary introduction of organizational changes and in the use of individual kinds of OP forces, in conformity with the expected character of future wars and warfare.

2. The increased importance of OP forces will influence changes in the development of operational forces towards the establishment of smaller units that will be quantitatively better than existing ones. The qualitative increase in operational force units will lead to the formation of an increased number of military units within the country. The latter will become additional targetable strike sites for the enemy, and, therefore, will require air protection by OP forces. For this reason the importance of zone defense increases.

3. Due to continuous improvement of air assault means, due to the predicted economic and military development of countries and conceptions of future military actions, it is reasonable to think that it will be necessary to defend using more economic and military sites, and above all to defend operational forces in regions of concentration, deployment and also those fighting within the country. Therefore, the number of tanks for OP forces will certainly increase. Only full and appropriate execution of those tasks will determine the country's defense capability as well as the defense of our own and allied operational forces within the country.

4. The projected character of enemy air assault, in particular a first massive strike, certainly will cause difficulties: in centralization of OP forces command, in cooperation within the system and with neighboring OP systems, as well as with other kinds of OP forces.

5. Under an all-army air defense system the mobility of OP forces will be of particular importance. Consequently, this will cause modification of existing military equipment. Stationary equipment will have to be replaced by very mobile equipment, which requires a short time for war-readiness in unspecified terrain and air situations.

6. The projected participation of OP forces in antiaircraft operation will increase the number of air-defense tasks, assigned to other kinds of armed forces, which participate in such operations: such as, strike air force air bases, operational missiles and operational-strategic launching stations. In the operation of antiairforce OP forces, air force fighters in particular could be used (in addition to attacking air targets) to defend the airstrips used by the striking air force and also to attack the enemy air force targets located on the ground.

7. Considering the projected danger to the country from the means of air assault over the next 20 years, the function of OP forces in the country's defense system will have a decisive influence at the beginning of a war, regardless of the character of the means of attack used.

12199
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ROMANIA

NEW EMIGRATION LAWS DISCUSSED IN SWISS PAPER

Zurich NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG in German 9 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by R. St.: "High Payments for Emigration From Romania. Payments in Hard Currency"]

[Text] Vienna 7 Nov--The Romanian State Council has issued a decree setting forth the financial obligations of emigrants. Romanian citizens, who have obtained definitive permission to leave the country, must compensate the state for its services. The amount of compensation is not mentioned. Since part of the amount must be paid in [hard currency], the regulation amounts to ransom payments on the part of Western countries. Towards the end of the 1970's, over 10,000 [Romanians of German descent] from Siebenburgen and the Banat left their homeland for the German Federal Republic; several hundred thousand [Romanian Jews] emigrated to Israel over the past 30 years. There was never any doubt that Bucharest demanded and received some kind of compensation for this "generosity", but the material demands had not been stated quite so openly until now.

Compensation

The decree describes the sum the emigrants have to pay as compensation for government services in the areas of education and training, health services, and social insurance. There is talk of a [debt] of the individual vis-a-vis the state, socialist enterprises or cooperatives, and other organizations. The emigrants would have to compensate society for the material services it has provided. Exempt from the [cost reimbursement] are apparently only emigrants who have reached retirement age. Hence, according to the Romanians, it takes until retirement to repay debts incurred for education and training in spite of the fact that people with higher education and skilled workers earn relatively very low salaries.

Romanian nationals, who have been assured of definite permission to leave the country, must discharge their obligations toward the state in [two stages]. Before their passports are issued, they must pay for the costs of education and for private debts, and during the period between receiving the passport and their actual departure, they must settle all other obligations. This also includes payment for services received as tourists.

This cannot be interpreted in any other way than that emigrants are charged for hotel stays at the same rate Western tourists have to pay, i.e., about four times the rate they previously paid. People who, for 10 years, had enjoyed apparently inexpensive vacations in Mamaia at the Black Sea, can now expect a hefty [additional bill]. Furthermore, it is not just real estate owned by the Romanian emigrant that becomes the property of the state, but he must also pay a fee for the "export of national cultural treasures" if he wants to take along a piece of art he personally owns. [Forced measures] for settling the "debt" are used against people who left the country illegally or who did not return in time. So far, there has been no mention of reprisals against family members; however, they cannot be excluded, judging from what has become known.

New Source of Income

Only in very rare instances do Romanians have legally acquired money in the form of hard currency. The precarious health of the state's finances evidently has caused Bucharest to develop a [new source of income]. Only Western countries are able to provide the required sums of money. The fact that emigrants must pay in hard currency makes it impossible for Hungarians in Siebenburgen to resettle in Hungary. How large the amounts of money demanded from prospective emigrants are, is not yet known. Romanian emigration policies--except for their attitude towards Jews--have never been generous and always linked to [political services in return]. The fact that the State Council decree was issued a few days prior to the resumption of the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] [follow-on meeting] in Madrid, appears particularly macabre. Here, a government is making the rights that are guaranteed in the Helsinki final act specifically dependent on the payment of money. Only recently, if we can trust our memory, has Bucharest offered to host the next meeting which will reexamine the principles agreed on in Helsinki...

7821
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ROMANIA

ROLE OF CULTURAL VALUES, QUALITY OF WORK IN SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 82 pp 24-26

Article by Prof Dr Ion Tudosecru: "Role of Cultural Values and Quality of Work in Determining the Way of Life"

Text Formation of the socialist way of life is a major aim of the RCP's overall strategy for building the fully developed socialist society in Romania. The cultural values of that society, their creation and assimilation, and the entire cultural-educational effort to form the new man are increasingly important in the system of factors governing this process, along with the material values of socialist civilization and the technical-material base and economic and organizational structures of socialist society. In describing this complex mechanism for objective and subjective determination of the socialist quality of life, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 that "We must always bear in mind that the way of thinking, social consciousness, and degree of scientific, educational and cultural development are determined by the material base of society and the way the material goods are produced and distributed, while social awareness, science, education, culture and ideological and political-educational work play an important part in development of the productive forces. Both aspects of activity are interdependent in a dialectical unity and ensure further social progress, the greater welfare of the people, and consolidation of national sovereignty and independence. In the light of the principles formulated by the RCP secretary general and the current political-ideological and cultural-educational tasks set by the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, we intend to present some of the axiological and practical aspects of the present process of creating a new quality of life in Romania.

1. Objective and Subjective Determination

In general the way of life may be defined as a way of bringing about a human condition, of fulfilling men's fundamental aspirations, and of meeting their material and intellectual requirements. The range of the requirements and the extent to which they are met always depend upon a series of objective factors, namely the material possibilities that society has (depending on the extent of

growth of the national wealth) for distributing to its members the goods and values that they need as well as the types of social relations and the nature of the production relations that shape the society (which determine the criteria and methods of distribution).

In addition to those objective factors there is also a series of subjective factors determining the way of life (and consequently the quality of life determined by the way of life) which depend upon the degree of people's comprehension and axiological assimilation of the relationships between the social condition and their human condition.

The social universe in which people live actually consists not only of social relationships and phenomena, technical-material resources, economic structures and organizational structures but also of ideas and values that are in turn complex and stratified in various areas and on various levels. In supporting the cultural edifice of society, the ideas and values play a particular part in forming people's social environment and they constitute their axiological frame of reference, their means of signifying their existence and detaching themselves from the objective world. Therefore the cultural horizons and values act as a controlling factor in determining people's quality of life and their way of life.

Accordingly one may speak of four areas of social-human construction upon which quality of life and development and improvement of people's way of life may depend, namely growth of the national wealth (and its surpluses for rational service of the needs of both social reproduction and the public's material and cultural consumption), improvement of social and production relations (for an equitable application of the social consumption fund to higher material and cultural living standards), social integration of people (the main means to this end being work, in the sense of activity producing goods and values, and a responsible attitude toward the regulatory codes of society), and people's perception of the objective conditions for their fulfillment, including the necessity of their integration in the system of social determinism through work and a sense of responsibility.

That last aim of social-human construction requires the individual to set and assimilate values and to live up to the set of values characteristic of the society in which he lives and functions. The cultural level helps the individual not only to perceive the objective determination of his way of life but also to form his militant social attitudes, because the individual's practical effort behalf of social construction is aimed not only at his integration in the social production system through work but also his active participation in the improvement of social relations and of the organizational structure based on those relations.

The cultural level is ineffective in determining the way of life unless it is centered on the key values (the basic values characteristic of each stage of the historical process) and completely developed to include the entire range of values from the material ones to the cultural and moral ones. Therefore society is vitally concerned in an extensive educational effort to intensify people's axiological receptiveness to all kinds of values and the prevailing basic values pertaining to the nature of the respective society's social relationships. Only through such a comprehensive educational strategy can educational work be expected to ultimately result in enhancement of people's awareness or its adjustment to the historical imperatives of the period.

In this light and under the conditions of construction of the fully developed socialist society, Romanian society is vitally concerned with and concentrates on the cultural-educational effort to form the advanced, revolutionary socialist consciousness and the new man as a fully developed personality because, as the RCP Program points out, a fully developed society requires a fully developed individual, with the qualification that this type of man is not only a result but also a cause as the builder of the new society.

Correlation of the four areas of social action (material and value production, improvement of social relationships and organizational structures, social integration of individuals with correlation of their individual and collective action, and cultural-educational work to enhance people's level of awareness and cultural horizon) results, especially under the conditions of socialism, in the system of factors in people's way of life and the levers available to society in its effort to bring about a new quality of life.

2. Value and Culture

Among the components of people's way of life we first distinguish the two most important ones, namely the living standard, or amount of goods and values with which society provides its members (according to its particular criteria of distribution) to meet their material and cultural needs, and the way people satisfy their needs (according to the society's standards of value and the extent to which its members assimilate and observe such standards). In the latter component, the way of life involves a qualitative aspect, upon the intensity of which a given life style depends (people's behavior in their relations with society and the extent to which the standards of value are involved in their direct relationships and in determining and selecting the range of demands to which they aspire and according to which they set their courses of action and ideals).

Besides those components of a quality of life (way of life) there are others that are of increasing importance in view of the technical-scientific revolution now in progress, such as the quality of the natural environment and not just the social one, the working conditions and the way people perceive the human and humanizing value of work.

In the present impact of man upon nature, man will actually lose the primary quality of his existence, his biotic environment, unless he puts a stop to the strategies and technologies that seriously and irreparably pollute the ecologic system (already sufficiently disrupted). Contemporary society's cultural standards and whole scale of values should sound the alarm about this and make contemporary man responsible in his relations with nature and society.

Of course the cultural values and acculturating efforts cannot perform their particular intensifying function unless organizational structures, strategies and suitable methods of social action are established in advance. It follows that the cultural values and the cultural effort must have a direct organizational purpose. This is necessary not only in the system of man's relations with nature but especially in the relations between man and society. Moreover in the course of the contemporary revolutionary processes, cultural activity and creation of values have permanently abandoned the luminist */sic/* and contemplativist positions. As the cultural standards and value strata characteristic of the

contemporary societies (especially the socialist ones) are assimilated, the agent of social action becomes militantly political, pursuing changes (sometimes radical) or improvements in the system of society's organizational structures so that they will function as means of achieving the human condition and suiting the social structures to the basic requirements and ideals of the new man of our times. It may be said in this connection that today more than ever homo significans is homo organizationalis.

The practical-organizational aim of the cultural values places those values in the context of the political, a field endowed par excellence with organizational virtues in the system of determinism of social experience. On the one hand the political phenomenon includes, besides the organizational structures of a political nature, political culture and awareness (vital in motivating and directing political relationships and actions), and on the other hand the political values are also included among the cultural values. Therefore homo significans is a zoon politikon as well.

Since political values are included among the cultural values and the organizational purposes of the cultural process in the present period are being emphasized, it is also legitimate to include political education in cultural-educational activity and thereby in the strategy for achieving the human condition.

Political education in itself just as cultural-educational activity in itself, which also includes or involves political-ideological indoctrination, unquestionably has no direct or immediate purpose of developing the living standard nor even any direct causal effect upon the way people's material needs are satisfied. Those educational fields directly affect the quality of life only by influencing people's basic value options and their rational attitudes toward the requirements of the relations between the individual and society in the process of fulfilling the human condition. From this standpoint the qualification is noteworthy that the political and cultural values in general perform a causal function in determining the nature and proportions of people's cultural and moral requirements and thereby play a part in shaping their life style and social behavior.

But in directly influencing the structure of the cultural and moral requirements the cultural values (including the political ones) also determine the range of the material requirements by their intervention. People measure such requirements responsibly by political standards and culture and relate the extent and nature of them to society's objective possibilities. This direct correlation between cultural values (including political ones) and quality of life is particularly apparent in our society, which makes it an aim of human achievement to create the fully developed personality of a new man whose quality of life is to reach the level of a communist way of life.

And so in the series of factors contributing to creation of the new quality of life during construction of the fully developed socialist society, the cultural values and cultural-educational work are of growing importance and a strategic significance which I think we must give further consideration in the current studies of the determinism of social experience in socialism.

3. Quality of Work and Quality of Life

Nature of work, working conditions and organization of work occupy a place apart in the system of indicators of quality of life. This indicator is so important in socialism that it may be said that in the process of the fully developed socialist society quality of life critically depends upon quality of work.

Actually, in socialist society it is by work that the individual is socially integrated and also personalizes himself. Society only contributes to his person-alization.

We feel certain courses of action are necessary to make work highly effective in determining the quality of life. In the first place we think of the necessity of always correlating and varying the level of distribution with the workers' contribution of work (measured both quantitatively and qualitatively). In this connection we must also consider the occupational training invested in the various worker categories, as well as the difficulty of the occupations and the de-gree of social responsibility determined by the position of the job on various levels of society's organizational hierarchy. We also consider the more suit-able geographic allocation of the enterprises to allow for the degree of pollu-tion of the natural environment, the enterprise's social functions, avoidance of commuting, etc. Of course this also requires an optimal organization of the en-terprises and the work by proper proportioning of the enterprises and the degree of concentration of the population in them, and organization of the labor col-lectives and teams according to psychosociological criteria of a scientific na-ture. Dysfunctions and difficulties in all those respects serve to depersonal-ize the individual and impair his social integration through work.

I feel intensified democracy in the activity of the enterprises, institutions and socioeconomic units will provide not only for optimal operation of the orga-nizational bodies and resources available to the workers for their greater par-ticipation in the management and activity of the enterprises and institutions but also for careful application of the principles of socialist democracy in electing personnel for economic, administrative and political management (ac-cording to professional and political training, organizational aptitude, psycho-logical and social experience in working with people, and level of responsibil-ity in performance of tasks), and for creating the conditions for relative sta-bility of personnel and jobs.

As we know, arrangements for workers' best use of their spare time are vital to restoration of physical and intellectual working capacities, to instruction and education, to performance of managerial activities in the family, on the job, and in the community, and to participation in cultural and athletic activities. But we think good organization and operation of the services are first necessary here, so that the spare time will be spent effectively for both the individual and society. We also feel greater encouragement should be given in educational work to actions that can help to enhance job satisfaction, so that work will not be merely the main criterion (and measure) of distribution but will also become more and more of a vital necessity to both society and the individual. To this end the work place must become more and more a framework of the workers' lives and not just an organizational framework wherein they perform their function as producers to obtain remuneration, and their incentive to raise the levels of la-bor productivity and production must be motivated by a harmonious combination of individual and social interests.

Through such ways and means of encouraging the individual's social integration through work, work acquires truly humanizing powers and becomes a decisive factor for creation of a better quality of life meeting the requirements of the socialist way of life. In a comprehensive view of the factors contributing to formation of the socialist way of life listed above, the work factor is fundamental and critically affects the other factors, because the way in which work functions in the system of social dynamism and in the structuring of the set of values in socialist society determines not only the whole series of factors for that society's material and cultural progress but also the process of forming the workers' socialist self-awareness, and along with that, the development of their confidence in the possibility of achieving their human condition in such a system. In the light of the revolutionary process now going on in Romania, we stress the point that such a feeling of confidence is and should be more and more a decisive factor in perception of the need of the entire people's total commitment to creating the new quality of life characteristic of the present stage in the progress of Romanian socialist society.

As we have seen, both objective and subjective determinations are correlated in the historical materialist conception and in the process of transforming the way of life. In this system of interactions, two factors have been found decisive in our analysis, namely people's practical productive action (work producing goods and values) and people's assimilation of society's standards of value, and the whole cultural-educational effort is subordinated to the latter objective.

The first factor contributes to people's objective social integration and the second process to their personalization and subjective social integration. That establishes a reverse connection between the individual and society, within which the individual builds the objective structures of social activity (on the basis of which society provides people with the material and cultural necessities of life) while society contributes to the individual's formation (his personalization and achievement of a human quality of life) according to its nature and humanizing capacities (or limitations).

The two factors of the system of determinism of the way of life act in correlation. Any structural dysfunction in that correlation has bad effects and serves to distort the way of life. Impairment of the quality of work or inefficiency of any kind in the production of goods and values causes defects in the whole process of social construction and prevents attainment of optimal economic growth rates, reducing society's capacity to meet the human requirements adequately. Lags and inefficiency in cultural-educational work affect the level of perception of the objective factors for quality of life, and people come to measure their share of the necessities by subjective criteria.

Such difficulties give rise to feelings of frustration, dissatisfaction and non-fulfillment and accordingly the appearance of deviant trends toward objective social determinism. It may even come to phenomena of a value crisis and of an operational and organizational dysfunction.

In order to counteract such effects, with their direct bad consequences for people's quality of life and way of life, it is urgent to intensify people's education for work and through work, where the true revolutionary and patriotic convictions are formed, and to make a more extensive and sustained effort to raise the cultural standard, to develop the workers' socialist awareness, and to

form the new man, in direct correlation with the more general effort toward socioeconomic development and enhancement of the workers' material and cultural welfare.

In that connection, the program for the political and cultural-educational efforts that will be made to form the new man with a keen socialist awareness (unanimously approved by the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture) is particularly important not only for the workers' cultural improvement but also for attaining higher levels of quality of life. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the conclusion of the congress, the effort toward general improvement of the cultural standard and revolutionary socialist education "must be made throughout the whole activity and in all that the Romanian people plan and achieve in their way of life and work."

5186
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ROMANIA

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 82 pp 20-21, 44

Article by Adrian Dinu Rachieru, Timisoara: "The Romanian Village from the Standpoint of Social Evolution"

Text The theoretical discussions of a sociological nature about the evolution of the social structure, including the one published in ERA SOCIALISTA, are of major interest and have aroused a wide response as well as some polemic reactions. In "X-raying" the present class structure, some comments rightly emphasized the relationships between the scientific-technical revolution and the evolution of the working class, and in that context less was said about the present state and evolution of the Romanian village. Analysis of such problems, and others as well, meets the requirement stated by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, in that the new developmental stage of Romanian society calls for thorough examination of the facts in order to draw theoretical and practical conclusions for future activity. Subject to the changes induced by the agrarian-industrial revolution and the evolution of the entire Romanian social system, the Romanian village has departed from its former almost exclusively agricultural structure. The conversion of agriculture to industry, the proliferation of some nonagricultural productive sectors in rural areas, the functions of the cooperative system, the considerable reduction of the proportion of agricultural population, and regional use of the surplus labor force are affecting the fate of the rural settlements. As we know the "demographic metabolism" from village to city as well as the shift of population and products were accompanied by imbalances, so that the specifically rural activities had to be reinvigorated in order to make the rural and urban functions complementary. Rural modernization cannot be dissociated from reappraisal of the social status of rural activities and the efficiency of agricultural labor as adjusted to the concept (still to be desired) of the agrarian revolution. In the context of emphasis upon the qualitative aspects of social development, the agrarian revolution is a general concept subject to development and extension involving "production, labor productivity, technical standards, economic effectiveness and general social activity in the Romanian villages," as Nicolae Ceausescu regarded it, and a component of the process of social leveling.

Everywhere in the world we see such a rapid reduction of rural population that we can say that as rural life "retreats" the importance of knowing it increases. The facts compel us to return to the "peasant problem," noting that the application of some sociological conclusions has been late and the predictive capacity of such studies has been insufficiently exploited, while sociology lags behind reality at times and is slow to perceive some very far-reaching processes and effects. Sociologists have recommended some measures (in the course of so many studies over the years) that merely reflected processes, without substantiating the strategies for managing the social reforms in keeping with the possibilities and requirements, and contenting themselves with merely "justifying them."

The dismantling of the old social and class structure, the leveling of the peasantry (becoming a new class of a nature characteristic of socialist production relations), in a decreasing proportion undergoing an intensive process of professionalization through the development of activities of an industrial type, diversification of the field of services and development of the technical infrastructure of agriculture resulted in a spectacular occupational diversification and modernization of the regional settlements, speeding up the process of equalizing their access to goods and services. The single rural occupation (in the sense of solely agricultural pursuits) and the "universal worker" type of peasant have disappeared, but the expanded "executor" attitude (due to restriction of independent initiative), the intensified feeling of a coowner, the changes in the rural way of life, and the diminished role of rural culture as a coherent system of standards, values and attitudes are affecting behavior.

Before probing the question let us remember that the structure of the rural population employed in agriculture is a pyramid distorted as to age groups and unbalanced as to sexes. As for use of manpower resources, in view of the declining proportion of the active population in the total rural population employed in agriculture, A. Ciora mentioned in his comment in ERA SOCIALISTA the "abnormal" ratio between specialists with secondary education and those with higher education. In addition to that, there is also the phenomenon of "negative selection" in the choice of agriculture as an occupation, as well as the agricultural specialists' unnatural residence in cities. The end-choices of rural-agricultural vocations impair the quality of the labor force, in addition to the quantitative limitation of the influx into rural-agricultural activities, casting doubt on the validity of the trend toward social and occupational self-reproduction in rural areas. "Devaluation" of the village and rural-agricultural activities in the mechanism of social status diverst interest toward occupations of the urban type. In any case, the exodus of the rural population to the cities (giving rise to many sociological studies that are not always accurate) confronts us with an inescapable finding, namely aging and feminizing of the rural labor force accompanied by youth's indifference to agriculture.

When it assimilated industrial occupations and professions, the village overcame the "inherent" immobility of rural society, and the changes it underwent opened it up to a comprehensive process of modernization. We prefer the latter term to urbanization particularly because in some of the comments the general idea of urbanization meant the eventual disappearance of any differences in city and village relationships, as "an invention of a way of life about to become universal" (1). We think those relationships involve disappearance of any opposition of the types of settlement but by no means an obliteration of them through

imitation of the city and mechanical application of measures peculiar to the industrial-urban area. It is at least premature to declare the "disappearance of any differences" as long as obvious differences still persist and the evolution of Romanian society indicates that the rural and agricultural structures must be strengthened.

Furthermore, social leveling as an overall macrosocial process characteristic of socialism calls for gradual elimination of all the essential social inequalities and distinctions among the groups without deceiving ourselves about total elimination of the differences, some of which cannot be eliminated (the natural ones due to age, individual ability, geographic features, etc.) while others should not be. (2) Social inequalities still persist as regards living conditions, opportunities for development and advancement, and possibilities of satisfying human requirements, since the evolution of Romanian society calls for equal social conditions for a multilateral and differentiated development. By the same token the criteria for evaluating changes in the social structure call for activation of the social mechanism for advancing some changes and checking others according to the model (strategy) of evolution of the social structures. It goes without saying that this problem cannot be separated from observation of the radical changes in the village itself. While the traditional village, coming to the attention of Romanian sociology between the wars and explored with no scientific detachment or superficial interest, was defined as a self-sufficient, acquainted group, the communities characterized by commuting now show a pronounced trend toward emancipation by the "urbanization" route. And as we know, modernization of the villages by infusion of urban elements has reduced the "distance" between city and village as the rural environment goes through an all-inclusive process of surpassing its "traditional civilization" by overcoming the immobility characteristic of the former village world.

Note however that the "pressure" of urban culture does not entirely eliminate the old living and working habits. Being largely acquired, the urban values meet with the "resistance" of the local traditional values. The phenomenon proceeds on the basis of "marginalization" of the peripheral position of the commuters in the evolution of the urban community and unquestionably merits a separate discussion.

At any rate, the shuttle service reconciles nonagricultural activities with maintenance of a rural residence, and the "industrial" commuters are distinguished by their occupational characteristics and the series of effects modifying their family structure, the scope of their social relations and aspirations, use of their spare time, etc. Commuting to industry was considered a "stage" phenomenon, but since that sociological hypothesis was not confirmed, their integration as commuters is a question of primary importance in the limited investigations of the phenomenon.

Interested in the areas of "interacting civilization," the sociologists warned of the ambiguous social status of the "semiurbans" and "semirurals, and the symbiosis of attributes is reflected in the current inadequate statistics that convey no real knowledge of the rural situation. In any case, the operational definition retaining the occupational factor is clearly irrelevant, missing the succession of roles that are distinct in cultural value and differ in action. Evaluation of the social structure and its evolution presents an inadequate

picture if we overlook the characteristics of that group category of the active population, which does not definitely belong to any class. Sociologically speaking, however, the twofold occupational affiliation and consequent juxtaposition of roles maintain a cultural hybrid, since the industrial commuters pursue a way of life that combines the urban values with the rural symbols, and their co-existence results in a cultural dualism that is often of a doubtful quality. Therefore urbanization is not confined to the nature of the "social area, requiring only transformation of the environment, but primarily requires transformation of the individual as the bearer of models of culture and behavior.

It has been noted, however, that the role and significance of urbanization itself, on the theoretical level, as an eminently constructive process was exaggerated. It was not until more recently that the ecological indications intensified by the environmental crisis compelled reconsideration of the extent of the city's bad effects upon temporary or occasional visitors from the world of the village.

But the error of the sociologists who persisted in the rural exodus theory lay not only in their one-sided analysis of the migration phenomenon, which also existed in the period between the wars, but especially in overlooking the internal causes of population shifts (away from agriculture) beyond the "objective necessities." It is clear now that this exodus (once applauded by sociologists) is only favored by industrialization, and the analysts of the phenomenon follow (and amend) the theory of "release of manpower" through agricultural industrialization as long as agriculture itself shows a shortage of manpower.

The hypothesis advanced by Ion Dragan, Honoria Cazacu and Oscar Hoffman that now "The proportions of the classes will not undergo major changes" (3) was contested in the discussion in ERA SOCIALISTA. Stabilization of the growth process concentrates social mobility inside the social classes and categories and considerably decreases the volume of intercounty migration. Of course that does not mean we are seeing a final stabilization of the labor force according to social-professional sectors or structures, without any change in it. Certainly the "remigration" hypothesis, which is about to be confirmed as its author himself, Vasile Miftode (4) noted, should also be considered although we have our doubts that it will be increasingly evident in the future. To be sure commuting has passed the eruptive stage, but the reconversion that the remigration calls for (Some worker-peasants will become farmers again) will not give rise to a reverse exodus in the sense of any considerable increase in the proportion of the rural population, but rather the "surplus" will be absorbed primarily by the services sector within the limits of this stabilization which, moreover, will be favored by the blocking of the rural exodus.

But the economic and moral attractiveness of the occupation is still the first consideration in management of the agricultural labor force. Virgil Constantinescu noted in his comments in the discussion that the agricultural occupations are making less gains in moral prestige, and for the immediate future the industrial workers trained in the trade school network and naturally used in nonagricultural activities are expected to be less inclined to do agricultural work in their spare time. There is no question that the economic motivation played an important part (remuneration, working conditions) in the "rural hemorrhage,"

but it was not the sole cause of it. It is associated with the disappearance of "the satisfaction of being a peasant" and the disintegration of the traditional life style (5), since the changes in the Romanian village were not all favorable and harbored a retinue of secondary effects. The depreciation of the peasant's status, marginal to "social success," resulted in the efforts to change it, and of course the current measures to revitalize the agricultural units and make them profitable are not overlooking the economic mechanism of material incentive. It was noted that the present system of indicators for evaluating the effectiveness of agricultural work and for remuneration will have to be revised shortly. Moreover the indifference, the offenses, the irresponsibility or the deficient use of the "occupational reserve" of personnel do not require just severe measures because, as V. Miftode correctly commented, such defects "cannot be remedied legally alone or by political indoctrination alone." (6)

The fundamental problem concerns the very direction of the evolution of the Romanian village in "the course of development." At first it was believed that the historic recovery awaiting Romanian society inevitably entailed the disappearance of the peasantry and the dissolution of the state. In copying some models from other places the characteristics were overlooked and urbanization was narrowly interpreted as transformation to townsmen. But in the very broad concept of urbanization (as a step toward socioeconomic changes and changes in attitude) the economic complementarity of industry and agriculture coexists with the social one between city and village, with efforts to close the gaps that separate them in regard to quality of life. I feel this point is of the greatest importance to the forecasts that mark out the evolution of Romanian society. In accordance with the party and state policy, the rural communities of the future will find their roots in the matrix of the village itself, based upon the foundations of socialist social relations.

The theoretical significance and practical implications of these problems require a more realistic approach, implicitly required in the case of sociology anyway because its epistemological status is based upon specific facts. It is quite rightly said that sociology cannot become a purely academic discipline without risk of annihilating itself, while its restriction to reality also prohibits its falsification. Then there is the temptation of facile borrowing (unfortunately an overworked "method"!) by quoting the Romanian facts from foreign contributions, many of them remarkable to be sure but not thereby applicable to the Romanian realities. And finally it should be noted that not much consideration has been given to the rural and agricultural sociological studies, and by avoiding mention of them and not engaging in their solution sociology sacrifices its militant calling and consequently its opportunity to be "in the front line" of the social-human disciplines. And as we know, ignoring its conclusions can only be harmful.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gh. Bourceanu, "Perspectives of the Romanian Village," CRONICA, No 13, 1982.
2. Cf. I. Dragan, H. Cazacu and O. Hoffman, "Evolution of the Demographic and Social Structure in Romania," ERA SOCIALISTA, No 3, 1982.
3. ERA SOCIALISTA, No 3, 1982.

4. V. Miftode, "Evolution of the Social Reality and Its Sociological Investigation," ERA SOCIALISTA, No 8, 1982.
5. D. Bartun, "Rural Culture and the Impact of Industrial Civilization," ASTRA, No 2, 1982.

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ROMANIA

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 82 pp 35-36

Article by Univ Reader Dr Victor Duculescu: "What is the Relationship Between a State's Domestic and Foreign Policies?"

Text In general there is a close connection and a natural correlation between states' domestic and foreign policies in view of the unity of the political phenomenon. As we know the political expresses the social interests arising from certain economic structures, production and ownership relations, and certain balances of class power in the given society, so that the political phenomenon, which reflects a number of aims and objectives undertaken by certain classes, parties and social groups, naturally entails a uniform strategy wherein the domestic factor cannot be dissociated from the foreign one. The connections between them are always apparent in one form or another, and the two aspects of politics, domestic and foreign, affect each other and determine the corresponding options on the part of the decision makers.

And so the class motivations of a state's domestic policy are more or less reflected in its foreign policy and in the way it plans and organizes its relations with other nations and other peoples, a fact summed up in the well-known principle that foreign policy is a continuation of domestic policy. But the correlation between domestic policy and foreign policy has particular aspects and manifestations that vary with each country's economic, social and political structures, with its social system, size and economic and military potential, with its place and role in the system of international relations, with the given historical period, etc. The contemporary world presents an extremely complex and diversified picture. There are socialist and capitalist countries in the world today, countries freed from the colonial yoke that are exercising their choice of a socialist development, developing and developed states, great powers and small and medium countries, countries involved in military blocs and neutral and unaligned countries. There are also considerable differences even between countries with similar social and political structures. This situation calls for a careful and specific analysis of each and every state's domestic and foreign policies and a detailed evaluation of the relationship between the domestic and foreign policies of any given state without dogmatizing or making categorical, undiscriminating or universally valid judgments.

Historical experience tells us that pursuit of an antidemocratic, antipopular policy at home generally means (especially in the case of some great powers) a policy or actions abroad that are incompatible with other nations' dignity and tendencies toward hegemonism in international affairs, violation of other peoples' aspirations to freedom and independence, use or threat of force, and expansion and consolidation of spheres of influence and domination. Thus the foreign policy of some great empires that practiced colonialism and repression or enslavement of other peoples in the course of history was directly correlated with intensive forms of oppression and domination in their own countries, and the barbarous oppressive methods practiced in their relations with the so-called "uncivilized" nations were always involved with the effort to make more profits by exploiting their own workers. It is also a well-known fact that the fascist regimes identified with ruthless exploitation and oppression of the masses, abolition of the most elementary democratic rights and freedoms, and virulent manifestations of racist ideas and practices became known abroad as avid proponents of the policy of force and dictation, hegemony and aggression, disarmament and war, and they flagrantly violated other states' national sovereignty and independence as well as the elementary principles and standards of international law.

But the unity and especially the complexity of the political phenomenon do not mean that there is a direct relationship between domestic policy and foreign policy or always a complete correspondence between them. This relationship is inevitably affected to a considerable extent in our times by the vast social and national revolutionary reforms that have taken place in the world, by the changes and shifts going on in the balance of power and the military balance in the world, by the intensive and unprecedented development of the role of the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces and of the nations and peoples everywhere, and by the growing mobilization of world public opinion in the effort to promote a new policy of national independence, detente, disarmament and peace.

Meanwhile it is clear that as worldwide interdependence increases we are seeing a growing generalization of the problems that vitally concern the community of nations. For example there is no question that a nuclear war would have catastrophic consequences for all countries of the world regardless of social order, size or material potential. Peace, security, disarmament and the new world political and economic order are impossible unless the foreign policy actions of all states without exception are integrally correlated with their own peoples' aspirations to prosperity and progress as well as those of the peoples everywhere.

Meanwhile it is equally true that in view of the great social and national changes that have taken place in the world, the states' foreign policies must take account of the internationally recognized principles and standards of conduct set forth in the international documents and accepted even if not invariably observed today by all countries of the world. The principles of national sovereignty and independence, equal rights and mutual benefit, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, and prohibition of use or threat of force are rules of international behavior that have been "crystallized" by a long process of historical evolution, and their observance by all states without exception is a first requirement for the peoples' peace, freedom and progress.

Thanks to the combined effect of the above-mentioned and other factors, it is actually possible that the foreign policies of the various capitalist states will

eventually embrace constructive elements and more realistic positions on a number of international problems and especially the problem of war, peace and disarmament, which is the main problem of contemporary international affairs. That also makes relations of peaceful coexistence and collaboration among states with different social systems possible.

There is no question that the imperialist, reactionary circles in some western states are pursuing a foreign policy hostile to detente, peace and the peoples' freedom and independence while maintaining and encouraging the armaments race, and this of course seriously threatens world peace and security. And it is unquestionably necessary to give the right answer to the actions of those circles. Moreover it should also be noted that in the present international situation the ruling classes in various countries are resorting more and more to new and more subtle ways and means of advancing their own interests and of maintaining and consolidating their influence in various parts of the world. And so alongside the military methods, either together with or apart from them, there is an increasingly wide scale use of economic forms of the policy of force and interference in other states' internal affairs and of neocolonial exploitation and domination of smaller and weaker countries, especially the developing ones.

Beyond a doubt the progressive domestic social policies are essential to advancement of a really new policy in international affairs, consistent promotion of the principles of international law, and complete correspondence between a country's foreign policy and every people's basic aspirations. Accordingly socialism as a qualitatively higher social order creates the objective basis for a progressive foreign policy of international peace and collaboration and new relations among states based upon respect for every people's dignity, national sovereignty and independence, equality and mutual benefit, noninterference in other states' internal affairs, and abstention from use or threat of force. The important role of the socialist countries in current international affairs, their foreign policy of peace, detente and collaboration, and their constructive initiatives and suggestions to solve some crucial current problems including those of peace and disarmament all demonstrate the power and viability of the ideas of socialism in the world of today.

Achieving a complete correspondence between a state's domestic and foreign policies is an extremely complex and sometimes contradictory process. The progressive changes made at home are not always automatically, permanently and entirely reflected in a given country's foreign policy. We must bear in mind that foreign policy is influenced not only by the nature of the respective country's social-political system but also by factors from its past, by the nature of its historical evolution, by the survival of older and still unresolved disputes with other states, by geostrategic considerations, by its alignment or nonalignment in military alliances etc., all of which can give rise to discrepancies or conflicts (partial, limited and temporary no doubt) of one kind or another at any given point between the respective state's domestic policy and some aspects of its foreign policy. The reasons why there are still conflicts in the world among countries whose social systems and ideologies by their very nature categorically reject the methods and ideas characteristic of the old policy of force in international relations are better understood in this light, among other things. As the RCP and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu keep emphasizing, these situations make it particularly clear that it is the socialist

countries' highly responsible duty to demonstrate in practice that they can settle any disagreements or problems among them by negotiation on the principles of scientific socialism, equality and mutual respect, noninterference in internal affairs and mutually advantageous collaboration, that they can bring about a new kind of international relations, and that they can set a significant example of this to all peoples of the world.

And so experience and the extremely contradictory and complex evolution of events prove that any narrow, superficial view of the relationship between domestic and foreign policy must be abandoned. Foreign policy is essentially a continuation of a state's domestic policy, but this should by no means lead to any mechanical, automatic interpretation of the relationship between the two manifestations of the political factor. The phenomenon requires a specific, in-depth analysis from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism, in the entire complexity of its manifestations and in direct relation to the given historical circumstances.

The great and far-reaching revolutionary changes that have taken place in Romania since 23 August 1944 have also brought about essential changes in Romania's foreign policy. As we know, in following the guidelines set in the RCP Program, socialist Romania pursues a foreign policy that fully meets the Romanian people's aspirations to national freedom and independence, peace and social progress as well as the vital aspirations of all peoples of the world. The party's and state's domestic and foreign policies are harmoniously combined and interdependent, and there is a close dialectical unity between them. The policies determined by the Ninth Party Congress, the election of Nicolae Ceausescu as head of the party and state, and the party's and state's policy and entire domestic and international activity in the last 17 years have all played a decisive part in the achievement of that unity.

As we know, alongside their effort to best implement the program for construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's socioeconomic development the party and state are conducting an intensive international activity on behalf of peace and collaboration among all peoples of the world and solidly based upon the principles of full equality of rights, national sovereignty and independence, and every people's right to national sovereignty and independence. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "There is a close dialectical unity between Romania's domestic and foreign policies, as those two aspects affect and determine each other. The success of the great programs for socioeconomic development that we have undertaken heavily depends upon a policy of peace and security and extensive collaboration with all peoples of the world. On that basis Romania is taking an active part in international affairs and in the efforts of the progressive forces to secure a climate of peace, confidence and security in the world." The party secretary general's speech about the program at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 brilliantly expresses this complete and permanent unity in its entire content, its substantiated objectives and its recommended courses of action.

Assertion of the RCP's leadership in all socioeconomic development and in determining the strategy for building the new society is the factor that ensures the unity of socialist Romania's domestic and foreign policies. Headed by its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu the RCP uniformly directs the preparation and

implementation of its domestic and foreign policies on the basis of scientific knowledge of the national and international realities and the patterns that have emerged in the evolution of Romania's domestic affairs and foreign relations. In this integral correlation domestic policy is an increasingly powerful aid to the assertion of Romania's foreign policy, while in its turn Romania's international policy becomes indispensable to fulfillment of the Romanian people's peaceful aspirations, the steady improvement of their living standard, and the prosperity of the Romanian socialist nation and also makes an important active contribution to promotion of new and truly democratic international relations in the world and to the victory of the cause of socialism, progress and peace. Moreover the complete unity of its domestic and foreign policies is one of the chief reasons for the esteem, prestige and respect socialist Romanian enjoys in the world today and for the wide impact of its constructive efforts and initiatives on behalf of all peoples' freedom, progress and peace and creation of a better and more just world.

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ROMANIA

POLEMICS IN PRESS EXAMINED BY WRITERS

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Oct 82 pp 13-18

[Roundtable discussion with Serban Cioculescu, Edgar Papu, Eugen Barbu, Mircea Iorgulescu and Ion Cristoiu, coordinated by Cristina Dumitrescu: "Polemics and Its Unwritten Rules;" date and place not specified]

[Text] In recent times, we saw a lively presence in the press - especially, but not only in the literary press - of polemics. There are also frequent articles about polemics and more importantly reciprocal rebukes regarding one polemist's or another's failure to adhere to the rules and the requirements of this type of writing.

In fact, what are these rules? How is polemics defined? When does it become necessary? What is its role? What is the literary quality of current polemics? These are merely several of the problems proposed for discussion in the investigation initiated by our magazine, with the conviction that a confrontation of the points of view on this subject is truly necessary and that such a professional roundtable should naturally take place in the trade publication of newspaper writers.

[Question] What place and role do you give to polemics in the overall type of writing presented in newspapers?

Cioculescu: In the literary movement of a country, of a national culture, polemics has a very important role. It is, frequently, the promoter of new things and naturally, as always, new things find resistance on behalf of the old, which does not renounce its position, wanting to believe in them and wanting them to be consolidated for all time. Polemics is, therefore, the exchange of ideas through which the new succeeds, most frequently, in coming out. Naturally, however, polemics requires adherence to certain conditions in order to merit this name.

[Question] Precisely with regards to these conditions, I would like you to refer to them.

Cioculescu: First of all, we are talking about the good faith of the one carrying out the polemics. Second, the polemics must stay in the realm of ideas and not degenerate into polemics aimed at certain persons or deal with the physical flaws of an adversary or biographical data. Finally, there are certain cultural conditions

that must be met and, without a doubt, in the great polemics in the history of our culture these conditions were respected. And, today, some polemics are civilized while others, unfortunately, contain elements that distort or truncate a person's ideas, evidencing bad faith or stupidity. I must say, however, that, unfortunately, the bad faith is more serious than the stupidity.

[Question] We also have a very generous tradition in this field, the field of polemics. What ideas do you have, what do you think we should remember with regards to it, in researching it?

Cioculescu: We have, in fact, a very generous tradition. I feel that the first polemics in our culture - even if the person involved is no longer alive in order to respond, in other words, we cannot meet the requirement of polemics of bringing together the two adversaries - the first polemics, therefore, is that with regards to Simon Dascalu's interpolations in Grigore Ureche's chronicles. These contributions gave rise to numerous undertakings over time and over many generations, beginning with Dimitrie Cantemir, finding itself even during the era of the Ardealian School. Even during our times, Simion Dascalu was defended by the late academician C. C. Giurgescu. Clearly, not with regards to the fundamental statements that the Romanian people were an outgrowth of the liberated soldiers of Rome, but in the sense of his considerations not only as an interpolator but as a true co-author. Furthermore, polemics have continued because this idea was contested by another important historian, P. P. Panaiteescu.

Another long discussed problem was that of the authorship of "The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Teodosie." In other words, polemics can be continued throughout time when they are about ideas and not persons, with the interest not fading after several weeks or months.

Closer to our times, I remember the polemics surrounding Titu Maiorescu's personality, which at first was denied and then later restored to its rightful place. Actually, some of the reconsiderations are indirect polemics because the values that they present were unknown or not recognized 30 to 35 years ago. In this case, we have to deal with a very interesting situation: retrospective polemics.

[Question] How do you feel about the polemics presented in the press today?

Cioculescu: In our times, I feel that the polemics are not very deep because in the main problems literary criticism is in agreement. Perhaps precisely because of this there is a proliferation of personal polemics which are not always resolved elegantly.

I am convinced, however, that there are and will be in the future very important problems to be discussed and that it is fitting for them to be dealt with seriously and in good faith. This seems to me to be the two fundamental conditions: good faith and seriousness. When a polemicist is of ill faith or is not serious

he is purely and simply in trouble and his undertakings cannot be taken into consideration. Let us not forget that the essential element of polemics is the struggle to bring out the truth, and this struggle must be waged with the rigors and the intellectual approach of a scientific researcher.

[Question] In the area of journalism - in this case, in polemics - what relationship is established between freedom and responsibility?

Papu: Freedom is a very delicate notion. Used without prudence and reason, it can become anarchy. If you do not maintain lucid vision, if you do not have a permanent control over it, freedom falls into entropy and it dissolves. Hybris and excess lead to the disappearance of freedom itself.

[Question] There is a legal framework - "The Law on the Press" - within which the journalist carries out his profession and, therefore, exercises polemics. Do you, however, also think that it is necessary for us to talk about a deontological framework?

Papu: I would answer affirmatively. Polemics is free but, going back to my earlier idea, this freedom must be well understood so that it will not degenerate, not slip to a lower, acultural and anti-human level.

[Question] What points should absolutely be contained in this "moral code for the polemicist?"

Papu: First of all among these rules should be urbanity. It should never be viewed with hostility, with hate with regards to a contrary idea. Otherwise, this beautiful struggle of opinions would become a vulgar argument and, certainly, arguments have nothing to do with the spirit of polemics.

I would then include honesty in this code. I have heard some opinions, yes, even those from a distinguished intellectual, which contain some ill faith in the polemics. Probably for "seasoning." In any case, I cannot in any way be in agreement with this type of opinion.

Similarly, I can note among the conditions that polemics should take into account a certain coefficient of modesty, which is naturally tied to good faith. By this I understand accepting the fact that the adversary can also be right - even partially right only in some of the points in this demonstration - and of publically recognizing this. Here, I do not see an abdication from your position from which you are confronting your adversary. I feel that the attempt to place a deontological framework upon polemics should not neglect these three requirements.

[Question] Sometimes a *sui generis* form of polemics is practiced: a statement is answered with a series of retorts and through concerted rejoinders. Do you feel that this type is interesting, useful or risks degenerating into a vendetta, into feuds like those between Sicilian families?

Papu: I think that the last hypothesis is the exact one. When a certain position is expressed in the press simultaneously by a number of "partisans," it is inevitable to slip into exaggerated subjectivism and into an incorrectly understood "friendly blind devotion." A false group solidarity is attained that damages the truth. I think that polemics must be maintained merely by the two opponents, without the noisy and unfortunate supporters. Certainly, when the person involved does not respond, the retort can be given by someone else, but this is very unpleasant and gives the wrong impression of the presence of certain "clamoring voices," appearing to come from a number of places at the same time.

[Question] When do polemics become necessary? Just in the case of certain important questions or, to an equal degree, in questions related to a certain moment about which one can easily intuit that it will not have an echo over time?

Papu: I think so in both cases. I see polemics as a means of verifying lucidity. Man is a subjective animal and no matter how well he may be guided by good faith it is difficult for him to completely overcome subjectivity. In order to succeed, he needs to be helped, and this can be achieved more by adversaries than by friends. Certainly, in great problems polemics is absolutely necessary, and the question should be asked merely in connection with the smaller, less significant ones. In their case, polemics also has the role of a welcomed exercise necessary for the great confrontations of opinions on the essential subjects. In order for you to interpret a symphony correctly, you need many solfeggios.

[Question] What difference do you believe should be made (we will assume the risk of falling into didacticism by asking this question) between the critical article and polemics?

Papu: In the critical article, there can be - like a crossed sphere, as is said in logic - polemics, but this is not obligatory. Let us suppose that a writer was unjustly attacked for a book he published. The words expressed in his defense belong to polemics and the reply will contain, in addition to combatting the adverse opinion, ample references to the quality of the contested work, which were not already noted. Therefore, there exists the possibility of the interference of the critical article with polemics, but it is not obligatory.

[Question] How would you evaluate the current status of polemics?

Papu: From a number of points of view, this moment seems interesting to me. I was myself involved in one of the great polemics of this period, a fact which I noted, I must admit, with surprise. I had not believed that a certain assertion of mine would be received with such passion and would create such controversy.

I think, however, because we are talking about the polemics of this moment, that polemics should not be tied to personal feelings, to ambitions or to

reasons foreign to the problems under discussion. I must note, however, that in Romania there is an abuse being made in this regard. Many times, polemics become a weapon of revenge or a means of stronger self-assertion, of expressing one's own ambitions. I do not think this is an acceptable position.

Nonetheless, even with these imperfections, asperity and accidents today's polemics have won out. In general, in a country's spiritual affairs polemics are an active, fertile element that stimulate a permanent verification (and self-verification) of opinions and positions towards a more serious documentation and towards finding certain more powerful arguments. For me, at least, the polemics opened in connection with an opinion expressed in journalism caused me to analyze my point of view with a maximum of rigor and even to consolidate my view. If I had not been attacked, perhaps I would have more easily passed over these assertions. Having been violently fought, justly or unjustly, for reasons directly related to the opinion I expressed or foreign to it - this does not interest me - I was forced to check my position once again, using a critical spirit, and even to reinforce it. Regardless of the fact that this examination produces a confirmation of the opinion or a renunciation of it, the examination itself seems to me to be especially necessary. And, the credit for this goes to the polemics.

[Question] This very interesting observation regarding the role of polemics in bringing about a self-check is tied, I think, to your earlier assertion referring to the idea of lucidity. In the area of polemics, what role do you attribute to passions, which you also mentioned before?

Papu: Passions can be white and black. There are welcomed, constructive passions, but also passions that do not go beyond personal ambition, that are simple means of self-serving efforts. To the degree about which we are talking, about a clean, just passion serving a great idea, it is not only acceptable, but vitally necessary to polemics. Here I would permit myself a parenthetical statement. We are a very well-equipped people and we have numerous artists of certain value. We have, however, a shortage of receptive people, I think. It happens very frequently that even the great creative people are not very receptive. There are numerous cases. It is sufficient for us to refer to Macedonski, who was not receptive with regards to Eminescu's creations, or to Ion Barbu, who was also not very receptive to Arghezi's poetry, and so forth. I think that this aspect should make us think and have discussions when we talk about polemics. In order to polemicize, it is not sufficient to be honest (Father Gramă was probably honest when he fought with incredibly naive means against Eminescu), but you also have to have a certain level of culture and competency. Otherwise, you are not only off target, but also ridiculous.

[Question] In our society, the open confrontation of opinions and points of view enjoys complete freedom. In this context, how do you define and evaluate the relationship between the freedom of expression and the responsibilities of exercising this right?

Barbu: I want to state that in all societies polemics was the nerve of literary life. Imagine a literary world in which the writers would applaud themselves from morning to night, in this manner showing that they are all friends. As you probably know, polemics always are born out of great books. With regards to mediocre books, there is quiet; with regards to stupid books, everyone is in agreement. When a better one appears, like in the story of the apple tree that yields fruit, the old and the young get their hands on the club and have at it! It happened to me with "Groapa" [The Pit], it happened to me with "Princepele" [The First] and it happened to me with "Saptamina nebunilor" [The Week of the Insane]. At the same time, no one bothered Rodica Ojoc-Brasoveanu, who is an excellent author... That is why your question - what is the relationship between the freedom of expression and the responsibility of exercising this right - seems futile to me.

[Question] From this point of view, how do you feel about the polemics in our press today? What seems to be the defining factors of current polemics?

Barbu: The polemics in our current press are a consequence of the old struggle between the dogmatists and the writers of good sense. The dogmatists want to be rapidly rehabilitated, to make people forget the shameful past when they defiled the Romanian works and language in which Eminescu had written, when they buried Blaga with his knees to his mouth, when they locked up V. Voiculescu, when they forced Arghezi to sell cherries and when, at that time, they declared themselves to be liberals and the defenders of European and world culture!! We, those of us who held to the middle, who did not spit upon our master writers of all times, are being pushed by the flag of the neodogmatists! Yes, and we are told even worse things: the new right. Why should man be at the new right? Because we were never ashamed of saying the words "Romania" and "Romanian," words which, right up until our times, someone stayed away from and took them out of the pages of the review SAPTAMINA, the review which I head up... Otherwise, he is a distinguished poet, he controls the press and publishing houses, and he writes patriotic poetry for the big occasions. But, he sure would like to not have to stand alongside us! His position requires him to do so, his older friends require it of him, people who have forgotten their addresses in Romania. Actually, the current polemics are carried out between these sheltered chameleons in the big publishing houses and in the numerous reviews, screaming loudly that we are sticking our fist in their mouth, that we wish they would die and disappear from literary life. If this could be proved, they would do it. But they cannot! And, then they use intimate meetings, they use secret couriers which everyone knows leads, in turn, to Paris to the mailbox of Monica Lovinescu.

In a word, I would consider this polemic a dispute between the people with a backbone who held their head high during the period of Novicov-Selmaru, Savin Bratu, Paul Georgescu and Sorin Toma, today encountering their nephews who have been raised in the university departments and the offices of the publishing houses where they carry out their evil activities, not forgetting to tell whom they wish and whom they do not that they are our victims, the few we have kept out of the affairs of the Writers' Union after an abominable electoral plot. The defining factor in current polemics seems to me to be good sense and good faith.

[Question] The denial of an outdated idea or false values requires, along with a critical action, a constructive position and the affirmation of certain ideas and higher values. From the natural perspective of creative requirements, how do you see the polemics initiated in our press in recent years?

Barbu: I think that by denying certain outdated ideas or false values everyone supposes that something constructive is being done. To build a new house on weak girders and cardboard boxes instead of bricks, as sometimes still happens in some projects, means cheating. For those who are hasty with constructivism in polemics, yes, a new type of polemics has appeared: cordial polemics! (What this would be, I do not know! I think that the author of the phrase does not understand the word polemical.) In this type of polemics, it is recommended to us to slap faces while singing. In my opinion, the polemics initiated in our press in recent years are welcomed. As far as I know, no one has died from it, none of the combatants' homes have been blown up and no one has set himself afire in the public square. So, let us continue.

[Question] In an interview you gave in the Artistic Literary Supplement to SCINTEIA TINERETULUI (28 March 1982), you said: "If someone asks me a question, I give a full answer." Does this view of answering also reflect an idea about polemics?

Barbu: Yes, I stated that I give a full answer, with this not meaning that I have put one off into a corner somewhere, or checked my watch instead or that I am crazy. Misfortunate has brought about the fact that I have never started a polemic. I have always been forced to respond. If I pointed out to someone that he has a precarious school of thought, he answered me by saying that my mother had green eyes; if I stated that someone had a stumbling style, he answered me saying that my uncle stole wood from the Grant Bridge and so forth. The misfortune of my adversaries is that I have a heavier hand and that people choke on this, choke and shout: Author! And then, the polemics are transformed into denunciations: "Daddy, he hit me..." Get out of here, get some training, read some more and then come back to the fray...

[Question] How can we avoid the undesired transformation of confrontations between ideas into confrontations between people? What consequences can it have?

Barbu: I do not want to think about being insulted after an exchange of opinions in the journals in which I published my polemics. Recently, I wrote that Manolescu has a detestable opinion with regards to my literature, but I continue to greet him on the street. I am talking about an elementary urbanity...

[Question] When is the effect of a polemical attitude expressed in the press considered welcomed?

Barbu: I feel it is welcomed when the person I tried to correct comes around. For example: our colleague Breban, after he went through the Giga column in SAPTAMINA, learned how to write more carefully. That is something, is it not?

[Question] In the area of polemics, Romanian culture has a rich tradition not lacking famous examples. What do you consider the defining characteristics of polemics at the current moment?

Iorgulescu: By "polemics," one can at the same time understand a great deal and very little. Not just because of a vague, imprecise meaning of the term, but also because of certain meanings that are not convenient in relationship to a given circumstance or with the interests existing at one point or another, and so forth. The definition itself of the meaning of polemics can become, as you can see, an opportunity for... polemics! Let us get by this first obstacle and go on. I do not think we can speak of our traditions in polemics as long as we understand poorly, superficially or not at all the most frequently invoked polemics. For example, there is frequent mention of the polemic between Maiorescu and Gherea. Being considered in an exemplary light, it is always recommended as a model. But, no real polemic can be carried out by following a model! Polemics are unforeseeable and unrepeatable, even if they are sometimes apparently taken up again: a change in the climate and the participants in fact leads to a change in the polemics themselves. Then what would a planned, scheduled and known-in-advance polemic be? Finally, we cannot truly understand a polemic that took place at some point if we do not place it in its political, historical and cultural framework. This is so since there are periods in which the polemics are fruitful and periods in which the polemics are impossible. Gherea's first polemic text - let us stay with this example - did not involve Maiorescu: it had a political nature and referred to two speeches given by the prime minister at that time (1883), I. C. Bratianu. And, Maiorescu was, in 1886, when Gherea published the first polemic article against him in the magazine CONTEMPORANUL, not only a known cultural personality, but also a prominent politician. While Gherea - Gherea was an obscure shopkeeper who ran a railroad station restaurant in Ploiesti, a person with an uncertain situation from all points of view. For example, at that point he still did not have his Romanian citizenship (he was naturalized in 1890, just a short time after Maiorescu, the minister of cults, had given him "quieting assurances" in this regard). Gherea's courage and Maiorescu's gallantry remain, however, misunderstood if we consider them merely as their personality traits, if we do not place them in the climate of that period. Further, by taking them out of context and making them absolutes, we inevitably falsify them. Placed in other historical moments, Gherea's daring and Maiorescu's loyalty become impossible.

Contemporary polemics are to a good degree false polemics. We no longer know how to carry out polemics, we have lost this skill. And, I am not merely thinking about the violence of the vocabulary and the insinuations of a personal nature ("insinuations" is a euphemism!), about inventiveness used to obscure evidence, truth and logic. These are the results of the inability to carry out polemics. In my opinion, the causes must be sought in an unfortunate heritage from the dogmatic period. At that point, polemics were not carried out, but rather excommunications, discussions were replaced with verdicts, confrontation with accusations and dialogues with monologues. In a recent article, the critic M. Ungheanu was greatly surprised that a "certain" N. Doreanu was able to publish a denigratory, aggressive and rudimentary article in 1954 about

G. Calinescu's novel "Bietul Ioanide" [Poor Ioanide]. Innocence or ignorance? N. Doreanu was not a certain "somebody." He was an important figure of the period (he was even a minister, among other things), and I do not understand how M. Ungheanu did not understand why this article was published and, especially, why there was no answer... Is it so hard to understand? I doubt it! Certainly, since then there have been a sufficient number of changes, but the custom of giving a monologue has remained. The majority of today's polemics is of this type: the people who carry them out are more interested in compromising their adversaries than in coherently stating their point of view. Here is where the violence of vocabulary comes in, the personal attacks, the invectives, the thinly veiled denunciations and so forth. This is the source of the strategy of hiding behind generous generalities. It has also reached the point where writers lacking even a minimum amount of literary talent are conducting "polemics" with critics who do not recognize this, accusing them of not being "sympathetic" to the high themes which they, in fact, degrade in their compositions which are totally lacking in value - as if the intention counts and not the achievement. It is not the principles or a principled nature that is lacking in our polemics, but rather the dialogue and open confrontation.

[Question] It is a unanimously accepted truth that polemics involve - in addition to combatting erroneous ideas or outdated ones - supporting certain new ideas and certain higher values. Could you refer to these values that are involved in the polemics that have appeared in the press in recent years?

Iorgulescu: I am somewhat more skeptical than you are, and I do not believe that new ideas appear, as such, at every step and at any moment in an uninterrupted and overwhelming statement. To defend "old" ideas and values - not obsolete ones, but those consacrated by time and history! - does not mean being opposed to the new. The confusion between change and renewal leads to nothing good because simple evolution does not absolutely also mean progress. To transform, to change is not always the same as renewal and the mania to make changes frequently hides a strong resistance to authentically new things. Superficiality maintains a basic immobility. To judge a literary work strictly on the basis of its artistic value is not at all a new thing, but the affirmation of this principle in the 1960's and 1970's represented an authentic force for the renewal of contemporary Romanian literature, whose remarkable results are well-known. And these examples are countless. Terms such as renewal, new ideas and new values can become factors slowing progress in a culture if they are not placed in relation to the situation and realities of that culture. It is my opinion that today in Romanian culture and literature there is a greater need for consolidation than for changes, modifications or transformations, no matter how spectacular they might be. Unfortunately, we still do not know how to build without tearing down.

[Question] What are the indispensible attributes of a worthwhile polemic designed to build, not merely to tear down?

Iorgulescu: Polemics are constructive through their own existence: they give dynamics to the spirit, involve an intellectual and moral responsibility and

awaken the interest in one question or another. Real polemics multiply the points of view and exclude exclusivism, authoritarian monologues and the monopoly on opinions and the truth. Without dialogues and without confrontations - no matter how harsh, no matter how cutting, no matter how sharp - we arrive at a mortifying silence. But, there is need for, and I repeat, the formulation of true polemics, not campaigns against certain persons. I am not, certainly, so naive that I do not know that principles exist only through people, that they do not exist outside of them. But, from this point to taking on people as targets there is a great distance.

[Question] To what degree does the initiation of a polemic and the establishment of its objective take into account the readers' area of interest?

Iorgulescu: Ideally speaking, the reader is the "umpire" in any polemic. The only judge. He can be interested in the dispute and in its object or he can remain indifferent. Furthermore, these are the means through which he can intervene in the conduct of a polemic. Any other undertaking distorts the meaning of polemics. When polemics are influenced by external factors, its conduct is corrupted and it can even lose the meaning of being a polemic. It is like, for example, the way an umpire at a sporting event can give an advantage - discretely or openly, it is not important how he does it - to one of the teams, a player and so forth. Polemics need as an obligatory condition the full freedom of movement of the participants. And, their moral responsibility is directly dependent upon this condition.

[Question] What is the place of polemics in the press directly dedicated to young people?

Cristoiu: As can be seen in even a summary investigation of the history of literature, polemics are part of the development of this history itself. It is true that in the meaning that is today given to polemics and in the discussions recently carried out in the literary press we tend to understand polemics merely as a certain form of this, a direct, immediate form. This is so because polemics - understanding this as a critical attitude towards a certain state of affairs, towards certain ideas, towards certain characteristics of literature at a given moment - polemics in this sense go far beyond the direct expression of a confrontation between two personalities or two points of view. Seeing it from this angle, all the great works were polemics: the novel by Camil Petrescu in relation to the traditional novel is a polemic. Stendhal's literature is also a polemic, and so forth. I understand polemics to be a denial, a critical attitude that is absolutely necessary to progress, entering the development of literature itself.

[Question] I think that here we are talking more about an attitude, about a polemic meaning. I would ask you to refer, however, to the polemics understood as a type of journalistic writing.

Cristoiu: This attitude is supported by the journalistic formulation. The confrontation between two adversaries in the press is the expression of the denial of a point of view and the advancement of another, a new one.

[Question] What do you think about the polemics presented in our current press?

Cristoiu: Recently, a great many things have been said in connection with polemics. If we were to summarize them, the dominant direction is that grouped around the idea according to which polemics should adopt civilized forms of expression, should not fall into suburban forms and should not be used in personal attacks. This requirement is truly justified, but from the experiences of our journalism we can see that such statements suffer from a fundamental deficiency: it does not specify the content of the terms. We are all in agreement that polemics should not be suburban and should not become a personal attack, but I do not think we are all in agreement upon the exact meaning of suburban, the exact meaning of personal attack. As can be seen from these polemics or from the discussions surrounding them, some people use personal attack and the fact that a literary critic makes a statement about a book is considered stupid. In a way, even this is a personal attack since I do not see a greater attack on a writer than to say that he has no talent. Therefore, when such justified criteria are formulated, the terms should be specified. On the other hand, we risk removing from this type of writing precisely its defining attributes. I do not believe in this so-called cordial polemics that is constantly being mentioned in the literary press since, through its excellence, polemics use irony, sarcasm sometimes and a preemptory tone in attacking the point of view of an adversary. How can you be in such a case, cordial? How can you obscure in the criticism of the adversary's point of view the references to his professional training, to the logic of demonstration? In other words, how can you avoid suggesting, even if you do not say it directly, that he did not sufficiently read up in this problem, that he is illogical? To exclude irony and a firm position towards another point of view or certain deficiencies means excluding the concept of polemics. Actually, it can be clearly seen that those people who clamor against polemics are the very ones who do not know how to practice it or, more precisely, those who express their disagreement in another manner. By keeping quiet, for example. With regards to a book a critic can say that it is very poor or that an author should not publish such a book, and this is a polemical attitude, with the risk of making someone mad or being interpreted as a personal attack. There can also be, however, another attitude of criticism - much practiced in recent times - which is the silence surrounding a book. This is also a form of polemics, yes, even more harsh than a verdict because it also implies a level of scorn. Sometimes it is even an elitist attitude. Silence as an attitude can also be used with regards to the answers to a polemic attack. Not knowing how to conduct polemics, some people pretend that they will not "descend" - as if conducting polemics means climbing down from a spiritually superior universe that is inaccessible - to give an answer.

Actually, polemics are an expression of the structure of the person in the fray, but we must recognize that even those writers and critics who do not use polemics know how to fight. It is true that they use other means, other ways. In my case, I have more faith in those who write than those who are silent and who do not respond to that which is said about them.

[Question] I do not believe that someone can consider a statement that a book is poor as a personal attack. To express yourself publically implicitly implies subjecting yourself to public judgement, and there is nothing original in this observation. Commenting on certain details of a person's private life, however, revealing certain data of a personal nature and so forth, constitute something else entirely different from natural submission to public judgement.

Cristoiu: One statement is needed: it is very good that we ask polemics not to degenerate into something else, but I think that there is another factor that is much more powerful to counteract such attempts - the reader. We have a reader of our press who is very mature and he who tries to lower the quality of the polemics is discredited in the eyes of the public reader. I think that this fear, somewhat justified fear, regarding the degeneration of polemics in the press nonetheless also stems from the fact that there is no clear awareness of the maturity of the readers. It has been proven that the polemics with the greatest circulation among the public are those that bring our arguments and the reader is the first one who sees that an author's attempt to use personal attack translates into the author's inability to support his statements with proof.

[Question] Because you mentioned the reader: do you feel that all the polemics that have appeared in the press recently have effectively taken into account the public's areas of interest?

Cristoiu: No. There were, there are and there probably will continue to be some polemics on minor themes that cannot interest the broad public and even less the history of literature. If we were to seek an explanation for these polemics - which are straw fires that are quickly put out without any further trace - I think we would find it in the fact that very few cultural magazines have a clear point of view that is firm in a certain fundamental problem of socialist literature. If we would look carefully, we would note that we cannot exactly state which point of view is supported by a certain publication, a point of view that we could recognize in an editorial or an investigation or an interview and so forth. In the Literary Artistic Supplement to SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, we do not give the idea that a literary review should express all opinions. Thanks to the democratization of culture after the Ninth Party Congress, we now have a large number of publishing houses and literary reviews. This was an extraordinarily wise decision from a political point of view. It is one thing to have a single publishing house and a single literary review (or only two, as it was in 1965), and it is something else to have a number of them. We were given this opportunity precisely so each idea and each opinion could be expressed.

Getting back, we find, therefore, that the magazines are not confronting each other on serious problems, defending strong points of view because, frequently, they do not have a point of view. When we can talk about a real personality in the literary publications, the confrontations we are talking

about would be truly important and on fundamental problems, not minor aspects. Only then can we talk, really, about confrontations of opinions and about confrontations between persons. This trip into minor aspects is, perhaps, also a reflex response to the prejudice that the reader is interested only in the superficial aspects of literary affairs. I belong to an editorial staff that receives numerous letters from the readers, with many of them containing daring and very serious points of view so that I could state with complete conviction that our public is interested first of all in literature and not the personal relationships between the people who produce the literature.

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ECONOMIZING EFFORTS BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SKETCHED

Overview of Situation

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1661, 31 Oct 82
pp 10-12

[Article by Jug Grizelj: "How the Government Is Economizing"]

[Text] On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday--while NIN was conducting this survey--the 53d meeting of Milka Planinc's government, whose term of office just passed its 160th day, was being prepared in the offices of members of the Federal Executive Council [SIV]. It takes nothing more than the simplest mathematical operation to compute that the new SIV has since last May held meetings every third day. In quantitative terms at least, as we were jokingly told by a member of SIV, "the public might be satisfied with the productivity of the supreme executive body of the Yugoslav Assembly."

On this occasion the purpose of NIN's conversation with a sizable number of SIV members (and also with staff heads in the General Secretariat) was not to learn what SIV is preparing this week as part of its fall offensive, but to obtain an answer to the question: What has the Federal Executive Council specifically done in its own house to economize?

Given that economy and reduction of expenditure run like a red thread through all the decisions, proposals and assessments of the Federal Executive Council, what has the Federal Executive Council done so as first to put its own house in order? If you would be believed, we have been told, you must first show by personal example that you can be believed. Which accounts for why SIV, as we were to see for ourselves, has in the last 2 weeks done more to economize than over several years previously, all in the fear that someone might point a finger to some action to which the reaction would be: "You deliver speeches and you enact economy measures, but you yourself throw money around."

Here is one example of this: at the very moment when the Federal Assembly, 2 weeks ago, was adopting the "assessments and positions" of SIV on economizing, not a single member of SIV and not a single officeholder in the federal administration got into a Mercedes, although the proposed version of the text of the decree on use of public automobiles had just begun the regular parliamentary procedure.

One of the vice chairmen of SIV told us: no individual measure and no person can alone solve our difficulties, but unless every citizen of Yugoslavia, from the messenger to the prime minister, does everything in his power to save, we will not get out of the difficulties. He added that extensive economy measures have been adopted in SIV and that there is a moral obligation: at a time when sacrifices are being required of the public, the behavior of public figures is of inestimable importance. "People's confidence in 'government' must be restored."

The episode with the Mercedeses--which we will be coming back to again--is only a detail of a truly extensive economy campaign which SIV has undertaken and whose purpose is to change the way of life of those employed in the federal administration and to inaugurate a climate which will create a new attitude toward expenditure.

From the Paper Clip to the Rest and Recreation Facility

Perhaps one of the most important actions which SIV is concerned with at this point in the field of economizing is preparation of the rebalanced federal budget. This time (the first time as far as this author can remember) the federal budget is being reduced by SIV itself, on its own initiative, and that retrospectively, but with the clear intention that this rebalanced budget would become the basis for the new budget. We were unable to learn by how many percentage points this year's budget would be reduced. They have not yet arrived at specific figures. This is certainly a delicate matter, since it is well known that the armed forces are the largest consumer of the budget and it does not occur to anyone to jeopardize its defensive capability. Nevertheless, if we have understood those we talked with correctly, reduction of this year's budget by 3 to 4 percent would be considered a success, and a reduction between 7 and 8 percent (which is the general idea concerning reduction of consumption in Yugoslavia) would be an exploit on the level of a miracle.

How is the reduction of this year's expenditures of the federal administration being planned?

There is simply not a single item which has not been questioned--from the paper clip in the office to the rest and recreation facility. A few examples, perhaps not the most significant ones: in the past material running to at least 1,000 typed pages has been prepared for every meeting of SIV. Counted up: 1,000-1,500 pages times 60 copies, times 100 meetings. One member of SIV told us that on the basis of the procedure followed in paper production up to now, one paper factory in Yugoslavia would have to work for SIV alone, not counting the special print shops, the energy of typists that is expended, and so on and so forth. An order which is taking effect with the next meeting urges proponents and those preparing material for SIV to prepare their texts on no more than 10 typed pages.

This is not just a question of thrift. A member of SIV who has been concerned for a long time with organization of the administration has calculated that everyone who is preparing for a meeting of SIV and wants to properly read all the material would theoretically not be able to sleep: it would take at least

100 hours to read the 1,000 pages of material. If one has to read between 2,000 and 3,000 pages every week, not counting other work, it would take people 8 days just to prepare for the average of two meetings of SIV a week. This does not include the effort and cost of the hundreds and thousands of specialists who prepare this material, aware that no one will read it.

Postponement of State Visits

Another example: some time ago every trip began to be checked and was made subject to specific consent not only for staff personnel of the federal administration, but also for members of SIV. This sounds unlikely, but it is so: official travel and indeed even state visits of delegations of SIV abroad, including the number of members of the delegations, is decided on by SIV in its meetings for each individual case!

A federal secretary whose sector of operations has many ties with consultations and collaboration with colleagues in Europe and the world told us that he is keeping in his drawer 10 official state invitations over just the last 5 months, but that in our present financial situation he is delaying acceptance of these invitations. Unfortunately, he added, a routine check was made recently in certain organizations at the "federal level" (not including the federal administration) showed that certain officials in those institutions have since the beginning of this year been members of even 10 official delegations visiting various countries of the world!

Now to go back to the use of official automobiles in the bodies and agencies of the federal administration. We have already said that the day after the new measures were announced--use of Mercedeses was abolished--prohibited! Members of SIV are driving low-power and medium-power automobiles and, we were told, the only trouble is that SIV does not have in its garage enough "Stojadins" [nickname for the Fiat 101, signifying "100 troubles"--translator's note] (the use of "Stojadins" is considered the ideal solution here), so that some medium-power cars are also used, such as small Citroens and Rekords. When we asked why a sufficient number of "Stojadins" are not purchased, we were told that SIV has no intention to buy a single new car, but has required that its garages organize the operation in such a way as to make maximum use of as many low-power and medium-power cars as possible.

We also learned, although the proposal of the new decree on use of public automobiles has just entered the procedure, that according to the new rules, even now, not a single member of SIV has the right to use an automobile for personal use, but exclusively for official use, which means that the automobile would be called for when there is an official need for it.

The purpose of these measures is to reduce the use of automobiles to their bare function, that is, for the individual to use a publicly owned car when he needs it to conduct his business. We thus learned in passing that the "Stojadins" that had been purchased and the Ladas which are already there, and this also applies to the other cars, are "fortunately of all colors," so that that status symbol of the "black limousine" will drop out of the "consciousness" of SIV and the federal administration.

When you see a Mercedes on the street, an official of the federal administration jokes, you can be sure that it does not belong to SIV. We asked: Fine, and what is going to happen to these black "cruisers" now? That is a serious problem, they said. First, it seems that the climate is such that none of the officials any longer want them. Some members of the Council of the Federation who were offered Mercedeses recently asked that they might be given "something more lightweight." The idea of selling the Mercedeses in Yugoslavia would accomplish nothing, since then "Peter would be getting off so that Paul could ride," and instead of the Mercedeses being driven by members of SIV, we would see opstina presidents or enterprise directors in them.

One member of SIV told us, quite unofficially, of course, that the possibility is being looked into of perhaps selling somewhere "in the Middle East" these fallen Mercedeses which everyone scrambled for up to now, but now no one wants.

And here is some news in the domain of SIV's economizing that will not bring joy to those employed in newspaper organizations and the PTT [postal, telegraph and telephone service]: strict limits and checks have been put on the purchasing of newspapers, magazines and bulletins, and telephone use has begun to be monitored, as one person we talked to said, "just like in rotten capitalism."

The most important question--one which has been given different interpretations in the public in recent weeks--has to do with the number of persons employed in federal administrative agencies. The number of persons employed in the federal administration and their effectiveness and productivity are in any case a topic which has been manifested in our public life--it is thought by one person we talked to--in direct proportion to the place and role which the Federation has had in the various phases of our development in recent years. Whenever it was necessary to diminish the prestige of the Federation--once again its alleged cumbersomeness, inefficiency and incompetence is bruited about.

Bachelors in Hotels

This was brought up a few days ago even in the Federal Assembly in connection with the erroneous news published in some periodical that the number of employees of the federal administration had risen 16 percent. Reacting to this news item, Borisav Krajina, federal secretary for jurisprudence and general administration, furnished an extensive explanation in his response to a delegate query (which our reader will find in the box published on pages 10 and 11). In the conversation which we have conducted these past several days on this topic, we were told that a special commission in SIV is just now completing the work of preparing a proposal for reorganization and restructuring of the staff services of the federal administration so that it might respond to its tasks. "The position taken by this SIV is that through modernization and reorganization the number of persons employed in the federal administration would be reduced by 10 to 15 percent over the next 3 to 5 years." "Federal administrative agencies are easy prey for a hue and cry, and the newspapers take particular relish in this," said one member of SIV, "though no one has ever attempted to find out who is working in the federal administration, how much he is paid, and what sort of working conditions he has." It is almost an

established rule, he added, that an able man will leave the administration after 2 or 3 years to go into some organization of associated labor, since in this case his pay will be at least 1 million dinars higher.

The author has not included the datum which follows in this article in order to make his readers weep over the fate of members of SIV. Nevertheless, it is worth thinking about: from the middle of this May up to a few days ago all of 14 members of SIV were living in Belgrade hotels, since apartments could not be found for them. Even today four members of SIV with very important posts are living in hotels. One of them furnished his own calculation: he receives 700,000 old dinars a month for separation from family, since his large family has continued to live in the republic capital he came from. Of those 700,000 he paid 300,000 as his share for covering the cost of sleeping in the hotel, which leaves 400,000 to eat on. He has calculated that that money cannot cover his meals even in the restaurant of SIV.

So, a partial answer to our question What is the Federal Executive Council doing to economize in its own house? This story, though it is incomplete, will be of some use if certain experiences are drawn from it by all those who handle government money--from the president of the opstina and the Socialist Alliance in our smallest towns all the way up to the other bodies at the federal level (which is not to mention on this occasion the bureaucracies in the republics and provinces).

The figures given in this article contradict the numerous stories going about, some of which have no basis whatsoever. We asked one member of SIV why in her last television interview Milka Planinc answered a question about her personal life, since in our opinion that departed from the general tone of the conversation which, it can be confidently said, was most favorably received by the public?

This is what we were told: "We do not know what Comrade Milka's motives were, but it is not impossible that she was thinking of the nonsensical story that had recently been going around all over the country--to the effect that the chairwoman of SIV is living in Zagreb and commuting to work every morning and evening by plane."

Employee Figures

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1661, 31 Oct 82
pp 10-11

[Text] "The datum published in BORBA on 20 September of this year to the effect that the number of persons employed in federal administrative agencies and federal organizations has increased 16 percent over the last several years is inaccurate," said Comrade Borisav Krajina, federal secretary for jurisprudence and organization of the federal administration, at the beginning of his response to a delegate query in the Federal Assembly, adding that this figure was picked up in a meeting of the Committee of Basic Organizations of the League of Communists of the Federation and that the misinformation occurred either through an error of the committee's staff service or through the newspaperman's error.

"Differing, by and large unverified and inaccurate figures have been presented recently in meetings of certain bodies and also in certain news media on the number of persons employed in federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, specialized and technical staff services of SIV, as well as on the increase in the number of personnel in those bodies and agencies, organizations and staff services. The number of about 29,000-30,000 persons employed in the federal administration has been mentioned, and this is also inaccurate."

Showing how this misinformation occurred, Borisav Krajina said that federal administrative agencies are mistakenly attributed even the work communities of the Yugoslav Automobile and Motorcycle Federation and the Yugoslav Red Cross, and then personnel in the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the Social Accounting Service, the business communities of the lottery organizations, and then the personnel of BORBA, TANJUG, Radio Yugoslavia, the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research, the Yugoslav Register of Shipping, and so on. Thereupon stating precisely the number of persons employed in the agencies of the federal administration, the federal secretary for jurisprudence said:

"As of 30 June of this year there were 15,460 persons employed in all federal administrative agencies, federal organizations and specialized technical staff services of SIV. Of that number 11,256 are employed in federal administrative agencies in the 'strict sense' of the word (that is, the federal secretariats, the federal committees, the federal administration and federal inspectorates). However, of that number 9,497, or 84.37 percent of the total number of employees, are employed in just four federal administrative agencies, namely the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Federal Customs Administration and the Federal Administration for Flight Control.

"As a practical matter there is a total of 1,759 employees in all the other federal administrative agencies, which is 15.63 percent of the total number."

Secretary Krajina explained how the number of employees increased in certain administrative agencies:

"The principal causes of the increase in the number of workers in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs were that in 1977 this secretariat was given new tasks related to security of foreign diplomatic personnel and that in that period a police brigade was created to meet the needs of security. The increase in the number of personnel in the Federal Customs Administration is mainly the result of the opening up of a sizable number of customs houses and new border crossings as well as the increased traffic of passengers and freight over the national borders. The number of personnel in the Federal Administration for Flight Control increased in this period because the civilian and military flight control services were merged."

When it was explained that just these four federal agencies (the federal secretariats for internal affairs and foreign affairs, the customs and flight control) have in recent years hired a total of 88 percent of all persons hired

in federal administrative agencies, it turns out that there has been a reduction in the number of personnel in other federal agencies. Illustrating the assertion that for a long time now there has been no increase in the number of persons employed in the federal administration, Borisav Krajina said that "the Federal Executive Council makes an individual decision in a meeting of the Council on every application of an administrative agency to hire new personnel, whether it is an unskilled person or supervisory person in a federal agency or federal organization, so that it can evaluate as realistically as possible the foundation for every individual request to hire a new worker.

"In conclusion I would like to emphasize," Comrade Krajina said to the delegates of the Federal Assembly, "that SIV also takes a critical attitude toward this situation not only with respect to the number of persons employed in the federal administration, but also concerning other affairs of the federal administration, even though that situation is nothing like the way it is often represented to the public."

Federal secretary Borisav Krajina made this response in a meeting of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly on 14 October of this year.

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YUGOSLAVIA

D. MARKOVIC DISCUSSED DEBTS, MEDIA, SUNDRY TOPICS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1663, 14 Nov 82
pp 12-17

[Interview with Dragoslav Markovic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, by Mirko Cekic and Miroslav Stojanovic: "About the Whole and the Parts"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Until recently it was said that our socioeconomic relations were very problematical, and then it was said ever more openly that it was a question of an economic crisis. More recently a finger has also been pointed to a crisis in political relations. When the term "crisis" is used, is it being used properly, are we talking about disturbances of that degree in the socioeconomic system and in political relations, or is this a question of inconsistent application of the system in practice?

[Answer] I have no way of knowing who is saying what about this and in what place. I would recall that we have the assessments of the Third Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee, and the views adopted jointly on what we might call the diagnosis of our condition and the manner of overcoming our present difficulties. It was noted both in that meeting of the Central Committee, as it has been in the Yugoslav Assembly when the case was being made for the measures of SIV [Federal Executive Council], that we confront large economic problems and that it will take the efforts of all of us in society to overcome the difficulties. It is certain, as it always is, that the disturbances in the economic field also affect both the political situation and also political dispositions. And I would say that they already exist. It is clear that our economy is passing through a truly difficult period, that this is having serious consequences for the social standard of living and for the functioning of a number of activities, that it is difficult to ensure the conditions for regular conduct of economic activity, that it is difficult to maintain the personal and family standard of living. And this certainly results in certain wavering and is generally reflected in what we refer to as the political situation. In all of this, as always happens in such cases, the activity of the internal and external enemies is intensified.

I would say that recently we have succeeded in clearly indicating to our working people, the working class and general public how serious and difficult the

situation of our economy is. The resolutions of the LCY Central Committee, the initiative of the SFRY State Presidency, the recent measures of SIV and the SFRY Assembly, aside from their pronouncedly material effects, have also played an important role in waking people up and bringing them to grasp the general situation more fully, both in institutions making decisions and also in the public at large.

[Question] However, it has been noted that the word "crisis" is reluctantly used in our political terminology. Why? No society, not even our self-managing society, develops on a straight line from the splendid toward the ideal, without internal and external difficulties.

[Answer] I am not sure, you see, whether it is proper to immediately use precisely the term "crisis" for these serious difficulties we have confronted after a lengthy period of relatively comfortable life. It is not a question of avoiding the terms "economic crisis" or "political crisis," but that a more serious analysis would not show that we are actually in a crisis. True, we do have great difficulties in production, this year, for the first time after an entire decade, we have had lasting shortages of one commodity or another, from medicine by way of detergents to coffee, and recently gasoline as well, and so on. However, at the same time there have been half as many work stoppages and strikes as in the previous period. Is this not a fact which alerts us to the need to be cautious and to examine the political situation comprehensively? Determination of all the factors affecting the totality of the situation is a matter for more thorough and comprehensive analysis. But certainly the awareness of the strained interethnic relations and the need to display in such a situation a high degree of responsibility in defending the independence of this society and the country's stability is having a paramount influence on the consciousness of the working class and the working people. We are talking, then, about patriotic motivation. There is also an awareness that the entire world is going through a crisis and period of recession, that even such highly developed countries as the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and indeed the United States have serious economic problems and that this is also having an impact on our situation. We are talking about a sense of responsibility. Our people know that we could have mitigated or resolved many difficulties, but also that the entire world is in a crisis. Nor should we lose sight of a number of other factors such as the fact, for example, that this year we have exceptional results in agriculture. I am not going into all this in any detail, but those are the facts.

Most important of all is the authentic trust which the working class and working people have in the social system, in self-management and in the LCY Program. Regardless of how much we talk about weaknesses in our system, however justified we are in being dissatisfied with the level of development of self-management we have attained, it is a fact that every one of our workers feels himself to be a self-manager and knows that many solutions lie in his own hands. I think that is a decisive factor which should not be underestimated when one speaks about the political situation and about the political mood.

In this connection I would like to turn to a rather widespread argument about the responsibility of one and the same people who for years have been in

positions of leadership, who yesterday were responsible "for all the wrong decisions" and who even today, in the process of overcoming the situations that have come about, occupy posts and positions of responsibility. The facts, however, indicate a different state of affairs. For example, in the Yugoslav Assembly, based on the delegate principle, in which there are 308 delegates, 38 of them have been elected for the second time. Of the 340 delegates in the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia only 14 delegates have been elected twice. Of the 163 members of the LCY Central Committee 94 members have been elected for the second time. Only 27 members of the Serbian LC Central Committee are serving a second term. In the present membership of SIV only two members have been reelected from the previous one, and of the 38 members of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Serbia 13 have been reelected. In the State Presidency of SR Serbia 9 of the 13 members have been reelected. What, then, do these arguments signify? It is not, then, the "same people" who are coming, but people of the same political-ideological, self-management and socialist orientation, people with the same political commitments. If that bothered someone, then something else is involved, and that something is the advocacy of another system than socialist self-management.

[Question] On one occasion you said of the time in which we live that it is instilling more realism. A certain sobering up is felt.

[Answer] When I spoke about realism and about sobering up, I was not referring only to the working class and general public, but above all to the institutions which are taking action and making decisions.

Frank Talk About Debts

[Question] Our public knows almost to the last detail the size of the burden of our foreign debt. Some say that Yugoslavia's economic potential is sufficiently strong to ride out the crisis, drawing extremely serious conclusions from it. Others are under the impression that we are being pulled along out of control in a state of social and economic helplessness. They express a fear of major social upheavals.

[Answer] We do talk frequently and openly about our foreign debt, about responsibility for such a high level of indebtedness. It is certain that at the moment this is one of the greatest problems causing many of our difficulties by a chain reaction. But I would like to say at once that for us as a developing country the policy of borrowing abroad was not in principle a mistaken one. Without relying on foreign credits, we would not have been able to overcome so quickly the great economic backwardness and backwardness of every other kind which we inherited.

In spite of all the difficulties we confront, we are today a country with a per capita national income of about \$3,000, and we are among the moderately developed industrial countries. We are a country which possesses up-to-date technology, we have sufficient trained personnel and an educated and modern working class. The main burden of that development has been borne by the working class, by its liberated initiative in our self-managed socialist society, and foreign credit potential has been used as a supplemental material

factor in development. I think that we mostly made good use of that capital if we examine the distribution of those credits by purposes: above all the infrastructure, highways, railroads, development of an up-to-date industry and agriculture.

There are times when we need to recall certain numbers, however incomplete their language might be. For example, in the period 1947-1981 the social product grew at an average annual rate of 5.9 percent. We are among the countries with the fastest economic growth. In 1947 the employed labor force numbered 1.2 million, and in 1981 it was about 6 million people (or fivefold greater). Every year the level of employment has been increased by an average of 141,000 people. About 63 percent of employed people have finished specialized schools, universities, etc. (unskilled workers comprise only 37 percent). At the end of 1977 automatic and semiautomatic machines made up more than two-thirds of the total value of the equipment in industry.

The figures are also interesting on agriculture. The share of the farm population in the total population has dropped from 67 percent in 1948 to 29 percent in 1981. In 1980 there were about 416,000 tractors operating in agriculture: that is, 1 tractor for every 24 hectares of arable land, while in 1949 there were 1,485 hectares per tractor. Wheat production increased 3.8-fold between 1949 and 1981, and corn production 3.5-fold. Here are a few other figures. Since the war 54,000 km of roads have been built or modernized, up to 1980 2,665 km of rail line had been built. The rail network is 33 percent electrified. Between 1952 and 1980 personal consumption increased more than fivefold (at an annual average of 6 percent), electric power consumption increased 42-fold, consumption of textiles 4.4-fold, consumption of footwear 3.4-fold, and so on. There is now an automobile in 38 percent of the households and a television set in 60 percent. Radio and television are being broadcast in the languages of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities. General health insurance covers 83 percent of the population (about 25 percent in 1952).

This, of course, does not mean, as in fact I have already said, that we have always been up to the task, that there have not been errors and impermissible oversights, that we have not tolerated shortcomings, sluggishness, and inefficiency, which have diminished the country's productive capacity. The public is aware of all that. Aside from that, I would say that many of the faults are on the other side. I am referring to a failure to examine the dynamic pattern of repayment in good time, to a lack of clarity in relations concerning the obligations of borrowers, and then to slow adaptation to the deteriorated international economic relations, and I am referring above all to energy and disturbances on the monetary market, which have had an essential impact on our situation at the moment. For example, if over the last 2 years we had not had to pay an additional \$2 billion for the same amount of petroleum, \$1 billion for higher interest and differences in rates of exchange, the balance sheet of our debt would be altogether different, as indeed would be the growth rate of our economy in those years.

A Strengthening of Responsibility

[Question] Might this have been foreseen?

[Answer] Ivo Perisin wrote a very interesting article in that respect in PRIVREDNI VJESNIK on 18 October 1982 in which he speaks about the present international economic relations, that is, about the position and aspirations of big capital worldwide which is first of all creating a hunger for capital in the developing countries by conducting a certain monetary policy, and then, through credit financing and "aid," is exploiting those countries. In part, it seems, even we have not been able to avoid that fate.

Thanks to our efforts and rapid and dynamic development, we are today in a situation where we can fulfill all our obligations. We are in any case discharging our obligations, with quite a few difficulties and efforts, and our orientation is clear--we will discharge them. Our greatest problem at present is how to make maximum use of up-to-date technology and our augmented productive forces so that our utilization of capacity will not be 60 or 70 percent, but all of 90 percent, as is done elsewhere in the world. I believe that our orientation, set forth in the long-range economic stabilization program, will help us to reestablish normal economic relations in which the emphasis will be on the struggle for larger income, for higher labor productivity, in which every worker and every work organization will be motivated to strive for larger income and for exports.

The fact should not be ignored that it is precisely thanks to this augmented economic potential that in the most difficult year, this year when so many of our obligations have piled up, we have nevertheless been successful in our effort to discharge all our obligations. Under those difficult conditions we even managed to increase the coverage of imports by exports from 61 percent to 72 percent in this year. Are those not elements which indicate that we have the conditions for performing the tasks which have been set? The most recent measures, especially all the changes that have occurred in our general behavior and in the awareness of almost everyone, will have the result, I am deeply convinced, that we will overcome our present difficulties. I do not intend to create the illusion that everything will go without a great deal of effort; on the contrary, there are also many difficulties ahead of us, and there will be consequences and certain social problems. The most important thing is that we are aware of the way out. Augmented efforts will, of course, have to be made by all responsible public institutions, all the working people and every individual so that production capacities and personnel, the social stock of knowledge, are used to improve the economy of labor, to carry on economic activity optimally and to do business profitably, to improve work discipline and responsibility without exception. Overcoming the accumulated difficulties will require a great deal of effort, large sacrifices, a radical reduction of consumption, and a narrowing of certain rights acquired. And also larger and more productive production. It will be possible to spend only what one possesses within the limits of the income he has earned.

I would like to express one other opinion: however aggravated economic problems, employment, the standard of living, and so on, have been, if there is a

clear, straightforward and comprehensible and convincing line of policy for overcoming this situation, one which mobilizes and motivates, it will also be easier to overcome all the difficulties.

Did all of this, all of these difficulties, have to occur? Every dynamic economic and social development also brings certain problems with it. However, would it have been better if we had encountered everything this year, when practically the entire world is in a crisis and recession, with a per capita national income of \$1,000 or \$1,500, without highways, without a modernized industry and agriculture, without this high degree of activation of our own sources of energy, with a fifth as many passenger cars and many fewer employed persons? I think that our orientation, the road we have been traveling, was basically correct.

Of course, the League of Communists, our system as a whole, should be open to a maximum of criticism, should incorporate everything in that criticism that is borne out and helps to improve the situation, should honor the justified and necessary thrust which criticism gives to the strengthening of responsibility at all levels of society. But the truth is that it is through that kind of economic policy, applied in decisions on development, that Yugoslavia has attained its present level of socioeconomic development, the present level of its social standard of living, the present level of human freedom, its current way of life, and, if you like, also its international position and the reputation which it has. The truth is, that is, that a different orientation would not have yielded all those results--neither economic, nor political, nor social. Many people outside Yugoslavia who have not been particularly inclined toward its social system also concur in this.

Analysis of the Political System

[Question] Over the entire time the Commission of the Federal Council for Economic Stabilization has been working, the public has been regularly informed about the proceedings. Even to such an extent that it now seems that the work in the commission has become so complicated and intricate that there is no end to it. As a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, on the basis of the division of tasks in the Presidium, you have been responsible for monitoring socioeconomic relations, and on that basis you have participated in the proceedings of the Krajger Commission. It is expected that this job will soon be completed. Please explain why it took so long and what is the most significant and lasting value of its work?

[Answer] First, I am not sure that one can really say that the work of the Commission for Economic Stabilization has taken a long time. If this extremely important job is finished by the end of the year, as is planned, that would be satisfactory. The commission of the two federal councils for economic stabilization, created on the initiative of the SFRY State Presidency, brings together directly or indirectly several hundred of the most eminent scientists, specialists and the most responsible political figures. I think that it is precisely the effort made to enlist all the creative forces of our society that has made it possible for us to obtain in a relatively short time a complete picture of our economic position, an analysis of the economy as a

whole and of its individual sectors, and on that basis it is now possible to issue the main guidelines of a future economic orientation both for the whole and for the individual sectors. That will be the basis for a number of legal changes which are to come, and the elements of what resulted from the agreement and give-and-take in the commission are already being incorporated into the new economic measures and decisions.

[Question] Conversations about the political system have become more frequent. We have even heard the assessment that the functioning of the political system is at the moment just as large a problem as the economic difficulties. Does this mean that changes are also needed in the political system?

[Answer] There is an integral relationship between the functioning and the effectiveness of the economic system, between the socioeconomic relations that exist, and relations in the sociopolitical system. Those are two sides of a single entity.

The constitution and the Law on Associated Labor have properly set up our socioeconomic relations, and this was also confirmed by the current debate in the Commission for Stabilization. However, it has turned out that there are many problems in the functioning and in the building of socioeconomic relations on the constitutional principles, that there are serious departures from economic laws in the conduct of economic activity, from our programmatic orientations in the economic field and from the relations defined in the constitution.

Major weaknesses and ineffectiveness have also shown up in practice in the functioning of the sociopolitical system. This has made it necessary to discover the causes of certain hangups and indeed even stagnation in development and to open up space for new steps in development of our system of socialist democracy. For a long time, for example, we have been agreed in our assessment that we cannot be satisfied with the functioning of the delegate system in spite of certain results. Again, there is dissatisfaction because of the functioning of the self-managing communities of interest and the assessment that they are not always an appropriate form of free exchange of labor. There is also agreement that there has been a lag in the process of establishing ties based on shared income and the pooling of labor and capital and so on. It is not possible that only resistance and a lack of understanding are involved here. It is certain that there are also causes which are contained in the laws embodying the system and in certain normative solutions which constitute a definite objective impediment.

[Question] The public was recently informed about the initiative of a member of the LCY Central Committee, Dr Najdan Pasic, the professor, and about his theses pertaining to the inadequately defined, unrealized and unrealizable provisions of the political system. This initiative, and this is very significant, originated at almost the same time in both the SFRY State Presidency and the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, as well as in other bodies, which is certainly the best expression of the awareness that we need a more thorough analysis of the functioning of the political system.

[Answer] Perhaps even the experience in the proceedings of the Commission for Economic Stabilization had a constructive effect in that respect. After all, experience has shown that it is very worthwhile when several hundred creative minds of our society, scientists, specialists and responsible political people, become involved in a job.

Newsgathering

[Question] One of your recent speeches (in a meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee) evoked contradictory and stormy reactions, especially among newsmen. You said at that time that the media have become centers of power and partners of the bodies of government, partners of bodies of political leadership in the country. It is the opinion of the newsmen that this judgment is exaggerated.

[Answer] Now that we have devoted so much time to the problems of the functioning of the political system, let us recall that the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor confirmed that the news media are organizations of particular public interest. In the discussion in the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee I tried to speak about those matters without entering into specific analyses and evaluations of any particular newspaper or any particular article. I think that this is a complicated issue and that the press is probably one of the most sensitive areas in public life.

The question arises in this connection of how to achieve what we call the socialization of the news media and how to avoid the danger of monopolistic usurpation, bureaucratic dictate, subordination of the news media to day-to-day political or any other group interest, the interest of a particular forum or institution. There is on the other hand a need to safeguard the independence and responsibility of the press and to avoid group-ownership behavior.

It is not essential to an approach to this problem nor to its full understanding whether the work collectives of each news organization have behaved or are behaving as centers of power, as partners, as the self-management consciousness of society, or not. The unsettled social status is creating conditions for tendencies which recently, in the aggravated socioeconomic relations, are beginning to dominate and to become more and more evident. Under such conditions it is very easy for a group or several individuals of a different, anti-self-management, bourgeois or other orientation to engage in manipulation in the name of the so-called free press and to impart a different orientation to the news media, regardless of the orientation toward socialist self-management of the enormous majority of newsmen. At this point I would state quite definitely: even the freedom of information (just like other freedoms) has "limits" in a democratic, self-managing and socialist society, that is, in an organized and responsible society: first, man's integrity and human dignity, and second, the fundamental values and elements of the constitutional order.

It will be necessary to conduct a more detailed analysis of all this. It is obvious that the instruments in the system and the laws which have provided for integration of the news media into society and social processes, are not adequate, either because some of those bodies are not operating satisfactorily

or because appropriate solutions have not been found. Nor have the self-managing communities of interest for newsgathering made a contribution to this, the publications councils or broadcasting councils have not safeguarded this to the necessary degree, and I think that the founders, who have not only the right, but also the duty, have not sufficiently ensured that socialization. Under such conditions there are inevitable tendencies toward monopolization by certain groupings in society or there is group-ownership behavior. This is simply the way things happen.

As for the alleged "sharp criticism" of the press, I would recall that equally grave words were expressed concerning the process of the free exchange of labor, concerning the shortcomings of the organization of self-managing communities of interest, concerning the weaknesses in the functioning of the delegate system, and yet no one felt himself to be particularly insulted--some delegate, say. Why at this point should criticism of the press be taken as an attack on the press, why do newsmen, who are themselves either "attacking" or transmitting "attacks" now so sensitive and offended? Isn't this "storm" of reaction evidence of the conception that after all some special position in society, in the system, does exist and is aspired to?

Of course, not for a single moment did all this cloud over the real, indispensable and large constructive role which in our overall development up to now the media have largely played and are playing in strengthening public scrutiny, social criticism, in the struggle for the socialist and self-management idea, for disseminating it, for its realization. And one is evaluating the press, it has to be emphasized that on the whole we do have an objective press, and one that is also varied and interesting.

[Question] The explicitness with which you cautioned "that everything cannot be public in this country" inevitably requires that an answer be given to the question of what ought to be concealed from the public and who would decide what is and what is not for the public?

[Answer] As for the question of whether everything is for the public or not, I think that there truly are matters which are not for the public or are not for the public at a particular moment. For example, aside from certain matters in the domain of national defense or state security, which are not for the public, it is common thought in our country that everything else is for the public, which is to forget, for example, that there are foreign policy matters, economic and technological facts which are extremely important and which for objective reasons cannot be accessible to the public at every moment. Of course, the problem does not lie solely in whether something is kept confidential or not, but the problem is who has the monopoly and the right to make it confidential, is someone arbitrarily seizing the right to make something confidential, or is this a matter of an evaluation by consensus, in the interest of society? Certainly no individual should be making an arbitrary decision on this: there have to be established norms, some kind of code, as a matter of consensus among the newsmen and all the other responsible factors in society.

"One's Own" and the Common Interest

[Question] The decisionmaking process in the Yugoslav community is a lengthy one and in the opinion of many ineffective. Often the procedure to reach agreement among the republics is turned into outright negotiation concerning interests of the moment.

[Answer] I think that criticism to the effect that the process of reaching agreement is a lengthy one is usually justified. But there is also unjustified criticism. Let us be clear: no democratic agreement can be reached without negotiation. If differing interests do exist objectively in our society, and they do exist, and if there is a need to arrive at the common and general interest with maximum possible respect for each separate and specific interest, that process cannot be a simple one, nor can it always be brief and speedy. However, what has accompanied the process of reaching agreement?

I think that very often entrenchment in a separate interest, in "one's own" interest, an interest viewed outside the context of the common and general interest, has been a characteristic of the process of reaching agreement. Objectively, this is a short-term orientation, since usually it also threatens that separate interest. Actually this is related to the functioning of the delegate system and to the degree of public scrutiny in the process of decisionmaking. There is no other possibility, no other means of democratic control and enhancement of responsibility in the decisionmaking process, in the process of reaching agreement, than the public. Definite results have been achieved in that regard. I think that we would move even faster in that regard if it were not for the burden of so-called monolithicism and unity and if in informing the public there were frequent insistence on the differences expressed in the process of arriving at decisions, rather than on the decision unanimously reached. The decision is important, but not the differences. This has an inhibitive effect on the process of opening things up further and on greater public scrutiny in the decisionmaking process.

I would mention two other issues: it can be asked whether on the basis of past experience the constitutional instrument of the temporary measure which can be adopted for a restricted period of time to overcome some adverse situation (on the initiative of the State Presidency) is sufficient or whether we should also think about other ways out in keeping with the system. Experience shows that when the procedure defined for reconciliation of views has been exhausted, but no decision has been reached, not even when reality demands urgency in decisionmaking, decisionmaking on the basis of unanimity, that is, consensus, becomes in practice a veto. There are signs of paralysis of institutions. In such cases is the temporary measure a sufficient and always applicable way of getting through the "blockade" of decisionmaking?

The second issue is the place and role of the Federal Executive Council. On the basis of the constitution SIV must bear more responsibility and obligations with respect to the process of reaching agreement. After all, by the nature of things SIV is the origin of initiative in most cases and the body submitting the proposal. However, the process of building up proposals in SIV takes a long time for many reasons. Here we encounter the rather old problem

of interrepublic committees which have not yet been overcome. Under the constitution and by law they were envisaged as a form of coordination in the field of implementing decisions, but they have turned into an interrepublic form for reconciliation of views in adopting the proposed version of decisions, which is the exclusive jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly, while SIV, on the basis of special powers, has the right and obligation to submit proposals. The interrepublic committees may be only one of the forms of consultation. Often for those reasons SIV and the bodies of the Assembly do not make the necessary use of their constitutional powers. This ought to be analyzed.

However, there is yet another question raised here which I would mention: during the constitutional discussion much was said about the institution of the mandator from the standpoint of collective leadership. The criticism of that institution sometimes loses sight of the essential constitutional role of SIV in submitting proposals which are to become a joint decision adopted unanimously. Although the constitution has prohibited the member of SIV from acting under the influence of any republic or province, including even "his own," the question is whether this is realistically possible when his election depends upon a nomination originating in the republic, and not just the nomination, but also the consent of the republic.

Still another question: all the analyses which were made at the end of the term of office of the delegate assembly in the last convocation, as well as the discussions in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and in other bodies, as well as in the Socialist Alliance, have shown that the domain covered by agreements among the republics and provinces has been very greatly expanded, beyond the limits envisaged by the constitution, even into areas where the constitution made no such provision, nor is the consent of all the republics and provinces realistically necessary in those areas. And this is having an adverse effect on effectiveness in reaching agreement on those issues on which agreement must be reached under the constitution, and aside from that this practice is contrary to the constitution and unconstitutional. People seem to believe that application of the principles of the constitution on the principle of "going beyond the requirements of the constitution" is not unconstitutional, but that is not so. They forget that the constitution is a precise measure at the limit of knowledge about where and when decisions should be made by reconciliation of views and where a decision should be made in some other way. Consequently, our view must be merely this: nothing more than the constitution, nothing less than stated by the constitution.

[Question] Is there less community spirit in our country now, in this period of crisis have the needs for consensus receded before the troubles of the various regions and the hope that one's own troubles can be eliminated more quickly by taking one's own decisions? Or, on the other hand, is there a stronger awareness that only through a spirit of community is it possible to get out of the crisis, that is, out of our difficulties?

[Answer] I think that we are right now witnesses to this latter process: greater awareness that only by pursuing the common interest, viewed both in the long run and also in the short term, is it possible to also pursue each particular interest. There is a great deal of evidence of this. That is why

in the final analysis even the measures of SIV which are rather radical and rather serious were adopted without a great many problems and delays. The process of reconciling views has gone much easier and faster both in SIV and also in the SFRY Assembly than previously when we were discussing less important issues. This indicates a more pronounced awareness and responsibility that only through joint efforts and on the unified Yugoslav market, within the framework of a single economic system, is it possible to get beyond present relations and the present situation. In that respect I think that we should anticipate a constructive development. You know that SIV is already preparing several proposals of measures, and it is anticipated that by the end of the year we will adopt amendments to the foreign exchange law and then the Law on Credit and Monetary Policy, which previously was long debated. All of this is an expression of new awareness and more sober attitudes. The League of Communists and the Assembly and all other institutions are acting more decisively. And the mood of the public is different.

[Question] It follows that the responsibility for consensus and for the Federation cannot always be regarded as unitarianism. But doesn't it seem to you that recently there has been renewed interest in "keeping accounts straight" and debates about how much who has given whom and when and how much is being taken and who is getting what from whom?

[Answer] I am not sure that one can speak about "keeping accounts straight."

I think that the fight should be waged for something else. All the republics and provinces are responsible under the constitution for their own development and for the development of the whole. However, development of the whole has an effect on the development of each part, and the development of the parts affects the development of the whole. In our behavior up to now in development policy and in overall relations the awareness of this reciprocity has not always been sufficiently present. Perhaps I might put it this way: in the previous period--I will not say exclusively--responsibility for one's own development was more manifest, and responsibility for development of the whole was in the background. I therefore think that there is good reason to demand that the Yugoslav public be informed about how obligations to the whole are being discharged and by what strategies and in what ways individual development is being achieved. As to whether someone is violating monetary and credit relations and monetary and credit policy, naming names, as to whether in borrowing policy we adhere to the principle that everyone who borrows must be able to repay debts, as to whether we are respecting legality in the behavior of all entities. And then we come to that problem of credit-creditor relations, which concerns not only the situation within one republic, but always the situation of Yugoslavia as a whole. In that respect I think it would, of course, be very bad to constantly measure in a petty way who has given what to whom. In the final analysis, on the unified Yugoslav market, under the conditions of economic activity which are changing, it is difficult to ascertain and to quantify where resources have been siphoned from and how this is done. I think that those computations could lead us to undesirable situations and to a flareup of various nationalistic dispositions, and the upshot would be a step backward.

So, if we succeed--and we must succeed--in carrying out the concepts contained in the long-range economic stabilization program, I think that all those issues will be automatically eliminated. And we know what is meant by solidarity: the policy toward the underdeveloped, additional resources to maintain the functioning of certain services of the underdeveloped republics and SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo, and so on--everything else should be regulated on the basis of economic laws, economic relations in primary distribution, labor productivity and so on.

Criticism of Practice

[Question] In the most recent political debate we have been going back again to clarification of the question of what is meant by democratic centralism. We recall the speech which Franc Popit made at the Third Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. He said that the need is felt for someone who by his prestige will make it possible for decisions to be made in moments of disagreement. He mentioned Comrade Tito and his authority.

[Answer] I think that the 12th LCY Congress answered those questions. I also think that commitments as to principle are not being called into question and that the appeal to principles and repetition of provisions in the bylaws are being used mainly to criticize practice. We have no need to start disputes about what democratic centralism means in the LCY, but in practice there are cases when those principles are departed from. It is a question, then, of criticizing practice from the standpoint of the principles that have been adopted. This was indeed understood by Comrade Popit himself.

In any case, there is a danger, given certain oversimplifications in interpreting democratic centralism, that two essentially unified principles might be confronted with one another: the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is defined as a unified organization of the League of Communists in which the organizations of the League of Communists in the republics are independent. Is there a contradiction in that fact? I would say that there is not. But at the same time there is no constitution or bylaws which can regulate all relations in everyday life. Much depends on tendencies in development, on the alignment of forces. We have unity with respect to programmatic commitments, we have unity of political orientation, but there is independence when it comes to defining and performing tasks within the framework of those unified commitments. It is natural that every organization should adapt itself to its own specific conditions and circumstances.

In practice, of course, there may be disagreements, departures from the principles adopted. And they have occurred and they do occur within the LCY, and, as is well known, they have occurred in relations within the League of Communists of Serbia, which is also specific, since within the unified League of Communists of Serbia, there are components, the leagues of communists of the provinces, which also have both their independence and a specific position. Nothing is given in advance for all time, and that is why the fight must be waged constantly for the implementation of principles and for unity in the League of Communists. I think, then, that discussions about this are not indicative today of any demand for a change of the relations that exist, but

they are a demand for practice to be brought into conformity with the provisions of the bylaws and the constitution.

[Question] How is it that in these moments of social development the arguments and debates recur over drastically differing views, from unitarianism to confederalism?

[Answer] In difficult situations many differing tendencies are always manifested, and everything is put into circulation--from unitarianism to confederalism. This is demonstrated by our own experience and also by the experience of others. All the forces emerge on the scene. And that is logical. They are looking for their chance--I do not see that that social chance will be offered to them.

[Question] The public has gradually been finding out what happened in the first meeting of the LCY Central Committee and then at the meetings of the Presidium. Speaking in Kumrovec, Mitja Ribicic presented an assessment which obviously has great political weight, "that much that is uncommunist and unscrupulous has accumulated in the leadership of the LCY Central Committee" and for a month it has been concerned with itself rather than the decisions of the congress.

The public has also been informed that one member of the Presidium of the Central Committee did not receive the two-thirds majority in the first and secret ballot, and that the vote was repeated. Only a portion of the public has been informed that you are that member.

[Answer] The LCY Central Committee adopted positions in this connection which have been made known to all leadership bodies of the League of Communists and in some places even the rank and file. Those views were interpreted by Comrade Ribicic, along with some more details, in Kumrovec. That meeting was attended by party activists of the League of Communists, who had already been informed about the course of the first meeting of the Central Committee. Your colleagues did not abide by the agreement and published this in some of the newspapers. I think this demystified something which had been suspected, which was in part known, and then there was some juggling with half-facts.

But that is the past. Returning to this moment, which is an expression of precisely those states which we are superseding, or which have even been superseded, and drawing attention from the agreed line of action, always in some measure signifies tickling the curiosity of everyone, and in this connection one must bear in mind what I said about other matters--that in every case the decision is more important than any phase in decisionmaking. Which means that it is important that the LCY leadership made the decision which it did.

Why I did not receive two-thirds of the votes in the first ballot is also another question. It is obvious that in a vote one can either win or lose. However, it is obvious that because of relations within the LCY and the position of the leagues of communists of the republics and provinces set forth in the bylaws that this cannot be regarded solely as a question of attitude toward one individual. The vote was taken again immediately after an analysis

of what had happened on the basis of the unified views of members of the LCY Central Committee from the Serbian LC Central Committee and then the unified view of the entire personnel commission, which is made up of representatives of the leagues of communists from all the republics and provinces.

It is certain that all of this was affected not only by the relations we had recently in the LCY, but also by the relations we had until recently in the Serbian LC. I think that we should not return to this for many reasons, but above all because the effort to put a stop to the relations which previously prevailed has won out. The basic orientation of the LCY and of its Central Committee is turned toward the future and the tasks of the future. And truly relations in the leadership have since that time been characterized by openness, by an atmosphere favorable for a principled discussion of all issues. There has been a new quality in the effort, and I would say that this is true in a direct and literal sense.

[Question] There are two interpretations. According to one it is not good that this happened immediately after the congress, and according to the other it is good because the clarification occurred immediately after the congress.

[Answer] I think it is good that this occurred, given that the situation was already what it was. After that people began to talk differently. Nothing has been passed over in silence, by and large nothing any longer remains unsaid and unclarified, and that is a new quality in our proceedings.

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